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De omnibus rebus, et quibusdam aliis.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EMERSON'S SECOND MERLIN SONG[1]

By the Editor

In an earlier study,[2] I discussed the philosophy and imagery of the first of Emerson's two unrelated poems listed in the Works under the inappropriate title, "Merlin's Song." Here I shall deal with the second, throwing light on its genesis and figures of speech, and suggesting both Emerson's aesthetic and possible model at the time he composed it. My purpose is not to establish the thirty-three lines as great Romantic poetry, but to let them explain themselves as a minor genre piece, historically interesting and worthy of respect. The lines constitute a "motto poem" which belongs in the category of the well-known prose and poetic chapter headings of Scott's novels, Spenser's Faerie Queene, Southey's "epics," Moore's Lalla Rookh, and Thomson's The Seasons, offering a more or less adequate summary of the chapter in The Conduct of Life entitled "Considerations by the Way," but possessing an imagery and irony which entitle it to independent merit.

Hear what British Merlin sung,
Of keenest eye and truest tongue.
Say not, the chiefs who first arrive
Usurp the seats for which all strive;
The forefathers this land who found
Failed to plant the vantage-ground;
Ever from one who comes to-morrow
Men wait their good and truth to borrow.
But wilt thou measure all thy road,
See thou lift the lightest load.
Who has little, to him who has less, can spare,
And thou, Cyndyllan's son! beware
Ponderous gold and stuffs to bear,
To falter ere thou thy task fulfil,---
Only the light-armed climb the hill.
The richest of all lords is Use,
And ruddy Health the loftiest Muse.

Live in the sunshine, swim the sea,
Drink the wild air's salubrity:
Where the star Canope shines in May,
Shepherds are thankful, and nations gay.
The music that can deepest reach,
And cure all ill, is cordial speech:
Mask thy wisdom with delight,
Toy with the bow, yet hit the white.
Of all wit's uses, the main one
Is to live well with who has none.
Cleave to thine acre; the round year
Will fetch all fruits and virtues here:
Fool and foe may harmless roam,
Loved and lovers bide at home.
A day for toil, an hour for sport,
But for a friend is life too short.

The prose themes may be roughly indicated as follows:

1) THE UNIVERSE JUSTIFIES OPTIMISM AND BELIEF IN OPPORTUNITY. Every individual born is entitled to both the world of nature and the Oversoul. One's circumstances are unimportant. One need never despair. [Poem, lines 2-11; Conduct of Life, pp. 245-266.]

2) MATERIALISM IS MAN'S PRINCIPAL ENEMY. "British Merlin" warns the son of Cynddylan against false goals and discouragement with his lot in life. Good can be brought out of evil. One should do what he can. [Poem, lines 12-16; Conduct of Life, pp. 253-262; 274-275, 278.] (Note the correct spelling of Cynddylan. Emerson consistently misspells it whenever he uses the word.)

3) HEALTH OF BODY AND MIND IS THE PRIMARY GOOD TO SEEK. [Poem, lines 16-19; Conduct of Life, 263-264.]

4) POWER DWELLS IN CHEERFULNESS AND CONTENTMENT. Doing the humble task is often the surest means of spontaneous, happy living. [Poem, lines 20-25; Conduct of Life, pp. 264-267.]

5) ONE MUST LEARN TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH BLOCKHEADS AND UNFIT COMPANIONS. One must protect oneself from their contaminating madness. [Poem, lines 26-27; Conduct of Life, pp. 269-270, 275-278.]

6) ONE SHOULD STAY AT HOME AND DEEPEN HIS LIFE WHERE HIS LOT IS CAST. Neurotic wandering about the world is escape. For independence and growth, avoid shooting cats in Zanzibar! [Poem, lines 28-31; Conduct of Life, pp. 266-269.]

7) THE PRINCIPAL KEY TO HAPPINESS ANYWHERE AND AT ANY TASK IS TO HAVE A FEW GOOD FRIENDS WHO CAN PROVIDE ENNOBLING CONVERSATION. [Poem, lines 32-33; Conduct of Life, pp. 269-275; 187.]

Emerson's summary of the chapter [Conduct of Life, p. 278] is a further elucidation: "The secret of culture is to learn that a few great points steadily reappear, alike in the poverty of the obscurest farm and in the miscellany of metropolitan life, and that these few are alone to be regarded;—the escape from all false ties; courage to be what we are, and love of what is simple and beautiful; independence and cheerful relation, these are the essentials,— these, and the wish to serve, to add somewhat to the well-being of men." Edward Waldo Emerson summarizes the poem itself as follows [Conduct of Life, p. 402]: "The world is as open and fresh for you as for Adam; man's hope lies in the better future; do not swaddle yourself with tradition or clog yourself with wealth; live close to nature for health and cheer; show his secret joyfully to others; your own spot of earth is best for you, and all things, including love, are there for you; in your work, if rightly chosen, is such joy that you will ask little time for play, but friendship implies eternity."

Though the modern critic, at this point, might suggest that Emerson should have spared himself the abor of writing such mottoes and given the time to improving the structure of his prose chapters, I am sking that the second Merlin song be not hastily dismissed. It has a significance that the casual reader ay miss and offers more than a chapter paraphrase. An important clue is given to the eye in the first ine, "British Merlin" suggesting not so much ancient Bardic lore as the annual editions of Cardanus Rider's ritish Merlin, for two centuries a popular almanac, a practical guide to farmers and business men, a directory for those who watched the tides for travel abroad, and a handbook of useful proverbs like those of en Franklin. This publication, which first appeared in London in 1656, is well represented in American ook collections, especially in the Library of the Boston Athenaeum. Seventeenth-century editions numbered wenty or thirty pages; the edition of 1756 had over two hundred. From approximately 1750 onwards, its irculation was increased by its having been bound with the Court and City Register of London, and, in Emrson's period, with the London Calendar. In other words, it circulated among the "best people"----those ho occupied high station in the English-speaking world and who had strong associations with the Bank of ngland. Subtitles varied from year to year, but practicality was emphasized in them all. For example, ne reads: Rider's British Merlin: for the Year 1747, adorned with many delightful and useful Verities, ith notes on Husbandry, Fairs, Marts, etc. But Emerson's alias also suggests Rider's predecessor and ompetitor---the astrologer William Lilly (1602-1681), whose first annual almanac, Merlinus Anglicus unior, the English Merlin Revived, appeared in 1644, flavored with prophecy and star-lore, which was carried on after his death by his adopted son, the astrologer and mathematician, Henry Coley (1633-1695?). merson's contemporaries could not escape knowing this rich body of ephemeral literature which, for parts f three centuries, served the British Isles in much the same fashion as the New England Farmer's Almanack, n all probability a child of the British pamphlets.[3] Rich irony, therefore, is implicit in Emerson's use f the phrase, since he has the ancient magician-astrologer-prophet proclaim a quite different message rom that in the ephemerae. "Beware of wealth! Stay at home and travel not! Pay no attention to the olar eclipses, and disregard the moon in pursuing your business! Only one star is important for men who trive for the rich life!" Emerson urged his American contemporaries to hear what British Merlin REALLY ang. "Hitch your wagons to but one luminary!"

Why did Merlin cite one particular star? Canope, like the "potent song" first came to Emerson's attention in books which he read as an undergraduate at Harvard. It was Godwin and the Monthly Anthology nd Boston Review that introduced him to the song. Moore's popular Lalla Rookh[4] instructed him in the oetic folklore of Canopus:

> The Star of Egypt, whose proud light
> Never hath beam'd on those who rest
> In the White Islands of the West,
> Burns through the storm with looks of flame
> That put Heav'n's cloudier eyes to shame.[5]

oore's footnote reads: "'The brilliant Canopus, unseen in European climates'---Brown." And again: "But ere, in this dear valley [of Cashmere] every moment appeared an age of pleasure; she saw [Feramorz] all ay, and was, therefore, all day happy,--resembling, she often thought, that people of Zinge, who attribute he unfading cheerfulness they enjoy to one genial star that rises nightly over their heads."[6] Moore's ote is especially important:

> "The inhabitants of this country (Zinge) are never afflicted with sadness or melancholy; on this subject the Sheikh Abu-al-Kheir-Azhari has the following distich:—
>
> Who is the man without care or sorrow, (tell) that I may rub my hand to him.
> (Behold) the Zingians, without care or sorrow, frolicksome with tipsiness and mirth.
>
> The philosophers have discovered that the cause of this cheerfulness proceeds from the influence of the star Soheil, or Canopus, which rises over them every night."
> --Extract from a Geographical Persian Manuscript called Heft Aklim, or the Seven Climates, translated by W. Ouseley, Esq.

hree years before Emerson published The Conduct of Life, he wrote jestingly:[7] "'T is an objection, I aid, to astronomy, that you light your candle at both ends. After you have got through the day and 't is ecessary you should give attention to the business of sleeping, all hands are called; here come Canopus, ldebaran, and all stars, and you are to begin again." Canopus, the brightest star in the southern heavns, is the only one of the first magnitude in the constellation Argo, named for the ship which carried Jaon and his companions to Colchis--a stellar ship revered by both the ancient Hindoos and Egyptians.[8] From t Isis and Osiris are supposed to have surveyed the ancient deluge. One other poet has made significant eference to it:

> We drank the Libyan Sun to sleep,
> And lit the Lamps which out-burned Canopus. [Tennyson, "A Dream of Fair Women"]

. rich folklore is clustered about the star. Saadi mentions its influence in The Gulistan, and Sir James . Frazer, in The Golden Bough, records the respect paid to it by the Bushmen in South Africa, the aborines of New South Wales, and the various tribes in South America. It was the favorable planet of Ausralians and has been prominent in all primitive agricultural calendars. Savages in the Southern Hemiphere used to sing and dance to gain the favor of the Pleiades. They attributed to it, rather than to

he sun, the cause of the increasing heat of spring and summer. The Abipones of Paraguay regarded the leiades as an image of their tribal ancestor. When it was absent from the skies during the winter onths, they believed their ancestor was ill and might die; when it reappeared in the month of May, hey saluted its return with joyous shouts and instrumental music. The Tapuiyas of Brazil worshiped the onstellation, whenever it appeared, with songs and dances. The Guaranis of Paraguay planned their sow- ng and dated the beginning of their year from the rising of the constellation in May. The "health" Em- rson stressed differs from that which the English and American almanacs sought to maintain. His has a ighor and spiritual side. This implicit irony, therefore, contributes to the unity of the second Merlin ong.

The reference to the son of Cynddylan (line 12)[9] also helps unify the piece and strengthen the pro- hetic character of the spokesman. The almanacs aimed to satisfy the practical needs of the British pub- ic from 1640 through 1840. By selecting Caranmael as the sole recipient of advice, Emerson implied that is Merlin was speaking to Everyman from the sixth century onward and giving him higher counsel than the phemerae could possibly give. In fact, what they offered was not really from British Merlin at all. hey had corrupted the genuine utterances of King Arthur's seer and transformed him into a dull agent of ravel, weather and information bureaus! But Caranmael was reputedly Merlin's contemporary--the confused nd uprooted survivor of Cynddylan ab Cyndrwyn, the subject of Llywarch-Hen's moving elegy[10] to which Em- rson was first introduced in the notes to canto v of Scott's Rokeby.[11] (He was reading it on June 29, 819,[12] and again in 1827.[13]) (Of course, Emerson saw that young man reborn in the land- and gold-hungry ioneers of the Middle West of his own day.) On August 13, 1833, just before leaving England for the nited States, he quoted one stanza of Llywarch-Hen's "Elegy" while in the vicinity of Kenilworth.[14] On ovember 12, 1835, he delivered five stanzas in his lecture on the "Permanent Traits of English National enius," either at that time or soon thereafter mastering the content of William Owen's volume cited in ootnote 10. Probably not until then did he see a symbolic value in Caranmael, whom Llywarch-Hen had entioned only briefly as surviving the warrior prince Cynddylan after the battle against the Saxons or ranks in the vicinity of the town of Tren. I quote from the "Elegy on Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn" all the tanzas that Emerson particularly liked because their tone and content are significant for the second erlin song.

[18] The hall of Cynddylan is gloomy this night,
Without fire, without bed--
I must weep awhile, and then be silent!

[19] The hall of Cynddylan is gloomy this night,
Without fire, without candle--
Except God doth, who will endue me with pa- tience!

[21] The hall of Cynddylan, gloomy seems its roof,
Since the sweet smile of humanity is no more--
Woe to him that saw it, if he neglects to do good!

[22] The hall of Cynddylan, art thou not bereft of thy appearance,
Thy shield is in the grave;
Whilst he lived, there was no broken roof!

[23] The hall of Cynddylan is without love this night,
Since he that owned it is no more--
Ah, Death! it will be but a short time he will leave me!

[27] The hall of Cynddylan pierces me to see it,
Without a covering, without fire--
Thy general is dead, and I alive myself!

[28] The hall of Cynddylan is openly exposed this night,
After being the contented resort of warriors:
Elvan, Cynddylan, and Caeog!

[30] The hall of Cynddylan is silent this night,
After losing its master--
The great merciful God, what shall I do!

[32] Slain were my brethren all at once,
Cynan, Cynddylan, and Cynvraith,
In defending Tren, a town laid waste!

[33] No tribe dared to intrude on the abode of Cynd- dylan,
He would never retreat the length of a foot;
His mother nursed no weakling son.

[92] Caranmael, when thou art on all sides prest,
Alwen is thy place of rest from battle--
It is usual for a toiling warrior to have a mark on his brow.

[93] Torment was the grasp of the generous hand
Of the son of Cynddylan, that keeps fast hold of fame--
The last man of the line of Cyndrwyn is Caran- mael!

[94] Caranmael was without claim;
And the patrimony was sequestered,
That Caranmael attempted to enjoy by being a judge.

[95] Caranmael with the afflicting grasp,
The son of Cynddylan, on fame's upper hand,
His stroke was not that of a judge.

As Emerson seems to have understood the "Elegy," Caranmael, though reared a warrior to defend his patri- mony, decided a short time after his father's death to seek wealth in channels for which he had no abil- ity, with the result that his inheritance was first sequestered and then lost to him. He bypassed his true responsibilities, failing to exercise his "use" in life and to benefit others. His restlessness and wandering indicated emotional immaturity. His wagon was hitched to no spiritual star. In foregoing do- mestic virtues he failed to develop the amenities and make friends. The principal cause of his failures, however, was his "afflicting grasp" after fame, his poor judgment, and his disregard for the "acres of dia- monds" hidden in his own back yard. And these characteristics made him a good symbol of mid-nineteenth- century Americans, preoccupied with the empty honors and dross of a spiritually impoverished folkway. Of

course, an allusion to Celtic literature was more meaningful during the Romantic Movement than today. A century ago, the primitive literatures were eagerly explored for ancient truth, and Macpherson's Ossian was on the lips of most schoolboys.

The second Merlin song becomes increasingly significant, moreover, as one comes to understand Emerson's attraction to the poetic patterns and content of the Celtic and Nordic poems which he was reading in translation while reworking his lectures on the "Conduct of Life" for publication as a book. "The high poetry," he wrote, "is the subduing men to order and virtue. He is the right Orpheus who writes his poetry not with syllables but with men; and Shakspeare's poetry must suffer that deduction that it is an exhibition and amusement, and is not expected to be eaten and drunk as the bread of life by the people. But Ossian's and Taliessin's and Regnar's and Isaiah's is."[15] Owen stresses the principal reason[16] for Emerson's interest: [17] "It first strikes our notice that a close copying after nature, with artless simplicity, is the prominent outline of the whole; and what chiefly contributed to this was the partiality of Llywarc for the proverbial maxims of his country; as all his pieces abound with these elegant memorials of the wisdom, and observation of the earliest ages; and his writings are valuable, even considered as the vehicle that brings to our view those maxims, which shew the manner of thinking of our ancestors at so remote a period of antiquity." Typical of these proverbs are the following:[18]

The greatest blemish is ill manners.
'Tis the act of the mighty to keep a treaty.
'Tis the maxim of the just to keep his word.
Vengeance only to God belongs.
Better the liberal than the miser.
Perseverance is the key to knowledge.
The cheek will not conceal the trouble of the heart.
God will not suffer the mischievous to enjoy wealth.
Whatever God hath done, he will not reverse.
Persevering patience will not leave thee long afflicted.
More powerful than a hundred is the affliction of the heart.
Ill nature will not deceive the contented mind.
Reason is the fairest light for man.

The Norse poetry, which Emerson regarded as akin to the Celtic--even, perhaps, related to it[19]--came to him especially in the Bohn Library edition of Mallet's Northern Antiquities,[20] published in 1847 and borrowed soon thereafter from the Harvard College Library.[21] A little later he bought a copy for himself,[22] rereading the Háva-mál, which had earlier influenced the first Merlin song.[23] Some of its proverbial wisdom seems to point to the poem we are here discussing:[24]

"When I was young I wandered about alone: I thought myself rich if I chanced to light upon a companion. A man gives pleasure to another man." [Cf. Conduct of Life, pp. 267-268]

"Let not a man be over wise, neither let him be more curious than he ought. Let him not seek to know his destiny, if he would sleep secure and quiet."

"The heart alone knows what passes within the heart: and that which betrays the soul is the soul itself. There is no malady or sickness more severe than not to be content with one's lot."

"Know, that if you have a friend, you ought to visit him often. The road is grown over with grass, the bushes quickly spread over it, if it is not constantly travelled." [Poem, lines 32-33; Conduct of Life, pp. 269-275, 187.]

Though the full importance to Emerson of the Bohn edition of Mallet remains to be assessed, his use of the tetrameter line in the second Merlin poem may reflect his reading, in the appendix to that volume, Sir Walter Scott's "Abstract of the Eyrbyggja-Saga...the early annals of Iceland," with specimens like the following:[25]

Sharp bit the sword beneath the hood
Of him whose zeal the cause pursued,
And ruddy flowed the stream of death,
Ere the grim brand resumed the sheath;
Now on the buckler of the slain
The ravin sits, his draught to drain,
For gore-drenched is his visage bold,
That hither came his courts to hold.

Those champions from beyond the main
Of Iceland's sons I deem'd the bane,
Nor fear'd I to endure the harm
And frantic fury of their arm,
But, conqueror, gave this valley's gloom
To be the grim Berserkir's tomb.

A noble meal the pontiff strewed
For the wild eagle's hungry brood,
A noble corpse hath filled the tomb,
When valiant Arnkill met his doom.

The birds of Odin found their prey,
When slaughter raged in Bitra's bay;
There lay extended on the vale
The three fierce plunderers of the whale,
And, all his toils of rapine past,
Grim Rafen found repose at last.

The relevance of the second Merlin poem to passages in Emerson's journal of the 1850's also makes it clear that Emerson had the American frontier chiefly in mind when he put on the Bardic vestments. Lines

3-4, for example, reflect an anecdote written down during the Western journey in 1856:[26] "Hon. Mr. Turner, of Freeport, said to me that it is not usually the first settlers who become rich, but the second comers. The first, he said, are often visionary men, the second are practical. The first two settlers of Rockford died insolvent, and he named similar cases in other towns; I think Beloit." But the emphasis intended in the poem is that expressed in the American Scholar. "It is a mischievous notion that we are come late into nature; that the world was finished a long time ago.... Not he is great who can alter matter, but he who can alter my state of mind.... The main enterprise of the world for splendor, for extent, is the upbuilding of a man. Here are the materials strewn along the ground. The private life of one man shall be a more illustrious monarchy...than any kingdom in history.... The man has never lived that can feed us ever."[27] Lines 9-10 reflect a journal entry of 1854:[28] "Henry Thoreau charged Blake, if he could not do hard tasks, to take the soft ones, and when he liked anything, if it was only a picture or a tune, to stay by it, find out what he liked, and draw that sense or meaning out of it, and do that: harden it, somehow, and make it his own. Blake thought and thought on this, and wrote afterwards to Henry, that he had got his first glimpse of heaven. Henry was a good physician." Lines 24-25 reappear in section five of Emerson's "Fragments on the Poet and the Poetic Gift"[29] and are there attended by an important commentary:

Mask thy wisdom with delight,
Toy with the bow, yet hit the white,
As Jelaleddin old and gray;
He seemed to bask, to dream and play
Without remoter hope or fear
Than still to entertain his ear
And pass the burning summer-time
In the palm-grove with a rhyme;
Heedless that each cunning word
Tribes and ages overheard:
Those idle catches told the laws
Holding Nature to her cause.

God only knew how Saadi dined;
Roses he ate, and drank the wind;
He freelier breathed beside the pine,
In cities he was low and mean;
The mountain waters washed him clean
And by the sea-waves he was strong;
He heard their medicinal song,
Asked no physician but the wave,
No palace but his sea-beat cave.

Lines 26-27 are a condensation of a "fine saying of Voltaire's:"[30] "Le triomphe de la raison c'est de bien vivre avec ceux qui n'en ont pas."[31]

Some modern critics will, doubtless, continue to dismiss the poetry of the Romantic Movement or deride nineteenth-century literary fashions---the interest in the primitive, in distant ages, in "direct statement," in seemingly grotesque imagery, in what many regard as extraneous poetic lustres, in the sententious, and in a protean inclination to address the world in the disguise of prophets.[32] De gustibus! Of course, future changes in the literary climate may render our twentieth-century poetics a little ridiculous also. Still, Emerson as a poet has survived his own age, and, a few of us believe, will live on because of a sheaf of memorable poems. The Merlin songs are certainly not among them, but even they can instruct the disciplined student and communicate a degree of pleasure as their unity and depth are revealed. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this paper to enumerate the qualities that account for Emerson's enduring reputation as a poet, but the one that ought here to be mentioned has been so well described by Professor Andrew Schiller at the end of his valuable monograph that I let him conclude this short paper. Emerson, he observes, "resisted the blandishments of sentimental imagery, fluent verse, and pretty patterns, preferring to hold hard to his crabbed little sayings, choosing to give honestly of his mind rather than falsely of his sensibilities. The price was heavy.... Yet he opened a door, and the fresh breeze he let in is still felt, a century later."

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1 The longer version, which we shall respect in this study, appears as the motto of chap. VII ("Considerations by the Way") in The Conduct of Life. See Works (Centenary ed.), VI, pp. 243-244. The poem with the last six lines omitted [inadvertently?] appears in Emerson's Poems. See Works (ed. cit.), IX, pp. 218-219.

2 See "The Potent Song in Emerson's Merlin Poems," P Q, XXXII (1953), pp. 22-28.

3 See the biographical sketches of William Lilly and Henry Coley in the D N B. See George Lyman Kittredge, The Old Farmer and His Almanack, Cambridge, Mass., 1904 and 1920.

4 For the popularity of this work with Emerson and his friends, see Journals, VIII, 123 (Sept. 1, 1850).

5 See The Poetical Works of Thomas Moore (Complete in One Volume), London, 1850, p. 373.

6 Ibid., pp. 385-386.

7 Journals, IX, p. 110.

8 For another reference to Canopus in oriental literature, see: The Anwar-I-Suhaili: or, Lights of Canopus commonly known as Kalilah and Damnah, being an adaptation by Mulla Husain Bin Ali al Wai'z-al-Kashifi of the Fables of Bidpai, tr. from the Persian by Arthur N. Wollaston, London, 1877.

9 Note that Emerson regularly misspelled this name.

10 See The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces of Llywarc-Hen, Prince of the Cumbrian Britons: with a literal translation by William Owen [afterwards Owen Pughe], London, 1792, p. viii.

11 Scott there quotes extensively from two of Llywarch-Hen's poems: "Elegy on Urien Reged" and "Elegy on Cynddylan ap Cyndrwyn," drawing upon the translation given in the preceding note. See The Poetical

Works of Sir Walter Scott, (7 vols.), Phila., 1824, IV, pp. 257-259.
12 See Cabot's M^ among Emerson's manuscript journals.
13 See Journals, II, p. 226.
14 See Journals, III, p. 175.
15 Journals, VIII, p. 353.
16 See Journals, VIII, p. 361.
17 The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces, p. xix.
18 Ibid., pp. 15, 17, 59, 65, 67, 107, 109.
19 See Nelson F. Adkins' excellent study: "Emerson and the Bardic Tradition," P M L A, LXIII (1948), pp. 662-677, esp. 674. See "The Potent Song in Emerson's Merlin Poems," loc. cit., pp. 26-28, for Emerson's combining the influences of Llywarch-Hen and the Norse Háva-Mál in the first Merlin song.
20 Paul Henri Mallet, Northern Antiquities; or, An historical account of the manners, customs, religion ...of the Ancient Scandinavians...tr. Bishop Percy, new ed. by I. A. Blackwell...[with] An Abstract of the Eyrbyggja Saga, by Sir Walter Scott, London (Bohn), 1847.
21 See Kenneth Walter Cameron, Ralph Waldo Emerson's Reading, Raleigh, 1941, pp. 48 and 89.
22 See Journals, VIII, p. 436 for his use of the book in 1852-1853, when The Conduct of Life was being expanded from lectures into a book. The volume survives in his library.
23 See "The Potent Song in Emerson's Merlin Poems," loc. cit., pp. 27-28.
24 Mallet, op. cit., pp. 369-371.
26 Journals, IX, p. 6.
27 Works, I, 105-108.
25 Mallet, op. cit., pp. 523, 527, 531, 539.
28 Journals, VIII, p. 450.
29 Works, IX,324-325, (Fragment V).
30 Letters, I, p. 182 (Dec. 30, 1826).
31 Journals, II, p. 125 (ca. Oct., 1826). The source is Voltaire's Socrate, I, vii.
32 Some of Emerson's aliases, beside Merlin, were: the Orphic Poet, the daimon, Seyd, Saadi, Osman, Uriel, and "a bard" (Works, III, 22-24). See Emerson the Essayist, (2 vols.), Raleigh, 1945, I, p. 364. Also Edward Waldo Emerson, Emerson in Concord, Boston & N.Y., [1888], p. 226.
33 See Andrew Schiller, "Gnomic Structure in Emerson's Poetry," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, XL (1955), pp. 313-320.

EMERSON AND GANDHI

by GEORGE HENDRICK
(Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos)

Thoreau's influence upon Gandhi, F. I. Carpenter wrote, "may partly be credited to Emerson's teaching, even if indirectly."[1] Although Thoreau's influence upon Gandhi was far greater, Emerson also directly influenced the Mahatma. Gandhi was reading Emerson during his second imprisonment in South Africa, and he wrote his son on March 25, 1909, that Emerson, Ruskin, and Mazzini "confirm the view that education does not mean a knowledge of letters but it means character building."[2] Later in the letter he commented significantly: "Please tell Maganlalbhai that I would advise him to read Emerson's essays. They can be had for nine pence in Durham [Durban?]. There is a cheap reprint out. These essays are worth studying. He shd read them, mark the important passages and then finally copy them out in a notebook. The essays to my mind contain the teaching of Indian wisdom in a western guru. It is interesting to see our own sometimes thus differently fashioned."[3]

While a student, Gandhi "learnt a saying of Emerson's which I never forgot. 'Foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds,' said the sage." Gandhi added wryly, "I cannot be a little mind, for foolish consistency has never been my hobgoblin."[4] On another occasion after quoting Emerson's remark, Gandhi added, "There is a method in my inconsistencies. There is a consistency running through my seeming inconsistencies, as in nature, there is a unity running through seeming diversity."[5]

Gandhi, in his appreciation of Tolstoy written in 1928, again mentioned Emerson. He noted that so-called inconsistencies in Tolstoy's life had been pointed out, but Gandhi found them "more apparent than real. Constant development is the law of life, and a man who always tries to maintain his dogmas in order to appear consistent drives himself into a false position. That is why Emerson said that foolish consistency was the hobgoblin of little minds. Tolstoy's so-called inconsistencies were a sign of his development and his passionate regard for truth."[6]

Gandhi undoubtedly read Emerson's "The Over-Soul." He was constantly concerned with the management of Indian Opinion, the South African paper he published from 1903 through 1914: "So long as it was under my control, the changes in the journal were indicative of changes in my life." The paper, he said, "was a mirror of part of my life. Week after week I poured out my soul in its columns...."[7] Indian Opinion printed the following extract from "The Over-Soul":

> The supreme critic on the errors of the past and the present, and the only prophet of that which must be, is that great Nature in which we rest, as the earth lies in the soft arms of the atmosphere: that Unity, that Over-Soul, within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all others; that common heart, of which all sincere conversation is the worship; to which all right action is submission: that overpowering reality which confutes our tricks and talents and constrains everyone to pass for what he is, and to speak from his character and not from his tongue, and which evermore tends to become wisdom, and virtue, and power, and beauty. . . . . From within or from behind, a light shims through us upon things, and makes us aware that we are nothing, but the light is all. A man is the facade of a temple wherein all wisdom and all good abide. What we commonly call man, the eating, drinking, planning, counting man, does not, as we know him, represent himself. Him we do not respect, but the soul, whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make our knees bend. When it breathes through his intellect, it is genius; when it breathes through his will,

it is virtue; when it flows through his affection, it is love.--EMERSON.[8]

There can be little doubt that Gandhi either made the extracts himself or read them carefully at the time of their publication.

Gandhi was attracted not only by Emerson's Orientalism but also by his social consciousness. Gandhi's introduction to the first edition of Indian Home Rule, quickly seized by the British government, paid tribute to the radical ideas of Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau and Emerson.[9] Gandhi had read Salt's biography of Thoreau[10] and therefore knew about many of Emerson's radical ideas not expressed in the essays and also about the Thoreau-Emerson friendship. Gandhi wrote President Roosevelt in 1942, "I have profited greatly by the writings of Thoreau and Emerson."[11]

Gandhi, although influenced by Emerson the guru and Emerson the social critic, felt as many others have that Emerson was too much the inactive intellectual. In commenting on scriptures and non-violence, he wrote, "But the fact remains that religious books have a hold upon mankind which other books have not. They have made a greater impression on me than Mark Twain, or, to take a more appropriate instance, Emerson. Emerson was a thinker. Mohamed and Jesus were through and through men of action in a sense Emerson would never be."[12]

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1 Frederic Ives Carpenter, Emerson Handbook, N.Y., 1953, p. 251.
2 Louis Fischer, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi, N.Y., 1950, p. 91.
3 Ibid., p. 93.
4 D. G. Tendulkar, Mahatma: Life of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Bombay, 1951, IV, 328-329.
5 Ibid., III, 15. 6 Ibid., II, 419.
7 M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth, London, 1949, p. 239.
8 Indian Opinion, Feb. 18, 1905, p. 104.
9 Ibid., April 2, 1910, p. 110. Three years later, among the books in stock for sale to subscribers, were English Traits and Representative Men and Society and Solitude and Other Essays. Indian Opinion, April 12, 1913, p. 150.
10 Henry S. Salt, Company I Have Kept, London, 1930, pp. 100-101.
11 Tendulkar, Mahatma, VI, 144.
12 Ibid., IV, 168-169.

THOREAU'S HARVARD FRIENDS DISCUSS EMERSON'S NATURE[1]

By the Editor

Christian P. Gruber's Princeton dissertation, published on microfilm,[2] and John Olin Eidson's printed biography of Wheeler[3] have greatly enriched our knowledge of Thoreau's Harvard years by introducing us to his closest friends. My own recent study of the Institute of 1770[4] has further developed the cyclic approach to his undergraduate life and indicated how he discovered Emerson's Nature, published on September 9 and 10, 1836. Below I edit yet another bit of evidence--the minutes of the Hasty Pudding Club for Friday, December 23, 1836---a student organization to which Thoreau himself did not belong, but of which many of his closest friends were members. The records reveal the ferment on the Harvard campus, caused by the appearance of Emerson's book and suggest the kind of dormitory discussions Henry may have enjoyed regularly during his senior year.[5]

> The Society met this evening at Br Wheeler's room. After the roll was called, the candidates were introduced.... Their initiation being concluded by a few remarks from both, we proceeded to ballot for Honorary members, and made choice of the following gentlemen; Mr Richardson to be invited by Br Russell. [Mr.] Dana [to be invited by Br.] Hildreth.... The Society then adjourned to No 6 U[niversity] and listened to an Oration by Br Eustis 1st and a Poem by Br Weiss. The subject of the Oration was the fashionable and popular way of mystifying a subject by the use of a quaint and foreign style, particularly the German. The instances adduced were, "Sartor Resartus" by Thomas Carlyle, and "Nature" by R. W. Emerson. It was replete with sound sense and many happy touches of satire, and manifested a laudable desire to preserve the English language from the introduction of a foreign style and idiom. The manner in which it was received would have convinced any one that it was a performance of no ordinary kind, and the Secretary here begs leave to congratulate him upon his success. The subject of the Poem [by Weiss] was "Colonel Crockett." Modesty forbids me from enlarging on this point.... Br Treat, our worthy President--who had left his school for the occasion--graced the head of the table. Adjourned at 3 o'clock. A.M.
>
> JOHN WEISS, JR.

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1 Hasty Pudding Club, Secretary's Records (1836-1839), p. 21. [HUD 3447.500]. I am grateful to Dr. Clifford K. Shipton, custodian of the Harvard University Archives, for permission to edit this portion and others soon to appear.
2 Christian P. Gruber, The Education of Henry Thoreau, Harvard, 1833-1837. (Accepted in October, 1953.) Publication 8077, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
3 John Olin Eidson, Charles Stearns Wheeler, Friend of Emerson, Athens, Ga., [1951].
4 Kenneth Walter Cameron, Thoreau Discovers Emerson: A College Reading Record, N. Y., 1953.
5 Student names appearing in the passage edited here include: Charles Stearns Wheeler, James Richardson, Charles Theodore Russell, Richard Henry Dana, Samuel Tenney Hildreth, John Fenwick Eustis, Samuel Treat, and John Weiss, Jr.

EMERSON'S 'CAPITAL PRINT' OF COLERIDGE

By the Editor

Shortly after returning to Concord from his first European trip, Emerson wrote from Boston to his brother William, in New York, on Oct. 11, 1833, as follows: "May I tax your kindness again to enquire of the Steward on board the New York whether he has found the number of Fraser's Magazine which he promised to look for. It contains a capital print of Coleridge which I should regret losing."[1] Whether the Steward found it or not is less impor-

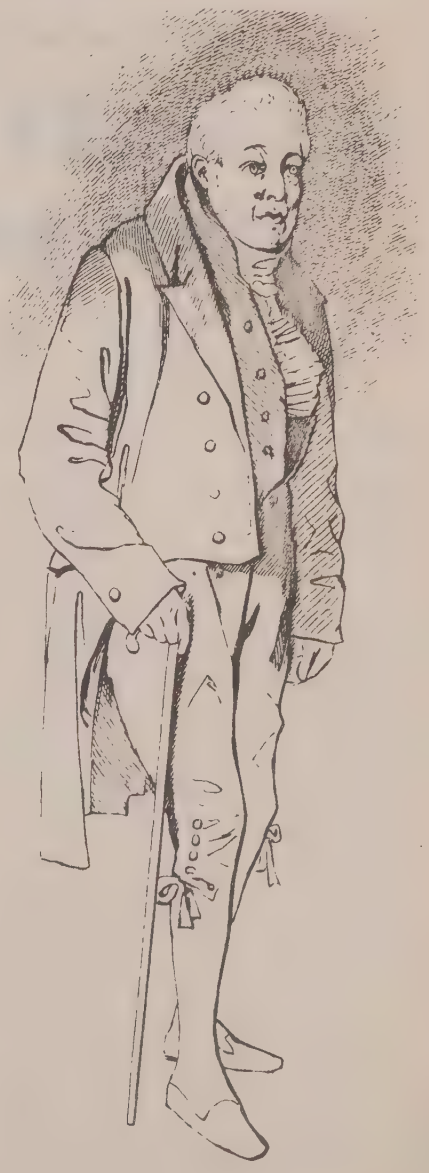
tant than the fact that Emerson secured the number abroad,[2] wished to preserve it as a memento of his recent host, lost it on his passage home in Captain Hoxie's vessel, and put his brother to considerable trouble to locate it. It may have helped prepare his mind for the poem, "Uriel."[3]

1 Letters, I, 397. 2 Fraser's Magazine, VIII, 64-65 (July, 1833).
3 See Kenneth Walter Cameron, "Coleridge and the Genesis of Emerson's 'Uriel'," P Q, XXX (1951), 212-217.

GALLERY OF LITERARY CHARACTERS.

No. XXXVIII.

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, ESQ.



S T Coleridge

AUTHOR OF "THE WANDERER."

SORRY are we to present,

"The noticeable man with large grey eyes"—

the worthy old Platonist—the founder of the romantic school of poetry—the pourer-forth of wisdom multifarious, in language as mellifluous as that of Nestor himself—the good honest old thoroughgoing Tory—even Samuel Taylor Coleridge himself—in an attitude of suffering. But so it is. He is at this present writing under the sheltering roof of worthy Mr. Gillman, on the summit of Highgate hill, labouring under sciatica, jaundice, and other of those ills that afflict mankind. He has come to the third step of the animal who formed the subject of the Sphinx's riddle, and walks hobblingly upon three legs; and more the pity.

Coleridge has himself told us all the more material parts of his life in that queer and pleasant book his *Biographia Literaria*, and it is needless for us now to tell how he was an Unitarian preacher, but soon abandoned that pestilent and cold-hearted heresy—how he was a newspaper editor—how he wrote the *Friend*—how he stirred up wars against Napoleon Buonaparte, late of the island of St. Helena, deceased—how the Emperor wished very particularly to take him under his kind protection, and patronise the editor of the *Morning Post* as he patronised Palm—how he wrote all manner of fine verses, and generally forgot to publish them—how *Christabel* having been recited to Sir Walter Scott, and a thousand others, was the acknowledged parent of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*—how Lord Byron, having made free with a passage of it in his *Siege of Corinth*, it was at length produced—how Jeffery, or some of his scrubs, foully abused it in the *Edinburgh Review*—how he valiantly brought Jeffery to the scratch, and made the little fellow apologise—how, in short, he has lectured, talked, preached, written, dogmatised, philosophised, dreamed, promised, begun, never-ended, and so forth, are all written by himself, and of course well known to the reader.

What he has done is exquisite, but it is nothing to what he could have done. Σαμιερον αδιον ασω, has been unluckily his motto, and the morrow never has come. Procrastination, that thief of time — the quotation is old, though the author is Young — has beguiled him onward in comparative idleness; and his best ideas have been suffered so often to lie unused, that they have at last appeared as the property of others. His graceful *Christabel* is a flagrant instance of this. It remained twenty years unpublished, but not unknown; and when its example had reared the ballad epic, or poetical novel, to its highest and most magnificent state, it made its appearance, in the eyes of the general reading public an imitation of its own progeny. We do not remember any worse luck in all literary history.

But Coleridge cared for none of these things. On he went, holding the even tenour of his way, *conversing* with all and sundry. Many a critic deemed original has lived exclusively by sucking Coleridge's brains. The late William Hazlitt was one of the most conspicuous thieves. There was not an observation—not a line—in all Hazlitt's critical works, which was worth reading, or remembering, that did not emanate directly from our old friend the Platonist; other spoliators, more or less known, were as barefaced. It was always worse done than if Coleridge had done it, and sometimes vilely perverted in spirit; but still the seed was good, and he has thus strongly acted upon the public mind of his day. We fear that his *Lay Sermons*, abounding as they do in brilliant and eloquent passages, have not found a very enlarged audience; but what he has spoken and suggested is now diffused throughout the literature of England, and forms part and parcel of every mind worth containing it in the country.

Would that we could see him drinking everlasting glasses of brandy and water in coffee-houses various—or carousing potations pottle-deep, as of old, in the western world of Bristol—or making orations to barmaids and landladies, and holding them by his glittering eye and suasive tongue; and, above all, we most ardently hope to witness the publication of the conclusion of

The lovely Lady Christabel,
Finished by Coleridge hale and well!

EMERSON RECOMMENDS DR. SIMON HEWETT By the Editor.

An ungathered Emerson letter, dated Boston, Dec. 10, 1832, appears in the rare (possibly unique) pamphlet owned by the famous collector, Parkman D. Howe, Esq., of 633 Chestnut St., Needham, Massachusetts---a member of the Emerson Society, who has graciously given us generous privileges.

The pages reproduced here describe the occasion for the letter and provide an interesting commentary on epistles Emerson wrote to friends and members of his family on Oct. 21, Nov. 13, Nov. 15, Dec. 1, and Dec. 8, 1829. (See Letters, I, pp. 285-289.)

In the last mentioned, he remarks to William that Dr. Hewett "cured me in two hours."

In September, 1859, Emerson returned to this physician for advice in a similar foot disability. (See Letters, V, 174.)

THE EMERSON SOCIETY
P. O. Box 1080
Hartford 1, Connecticut

Persons into whose hands this Pamphlet may fall will, perhaps, find it of service to preserve it for future reference.

Dr. S. C. Hewett,

BONE-SETTER,

Successor to the late Dr. JOB SWEET, who died in Boston, about nine years since. Dr. H. may be found at 297 Washington Street, nearly opposite Avon Place, Boston, Mass.

In presenting the following observations and certificates to the public, Dr. Hewett would observe, that he relies chiefly, for success in his practice, on attending his patients himself, though, in cases where it is impossible for them to put themselves under his care, after seeing them and examining their case, he will give advice and put up medicines for them to apply. He will visit patients in any part of the country at a very low charge, provided they cannot call on him.

Dr. H. expresses his gratitude to the public for his extensive practice in Boston and its vicinity, such as in reducing dislocations and fractures; treatment of hip-diseases, white-swellings, sprains, contraction of the cords, deformity, and general diseases of the limbs; diseases of the spine, natural deformities of children, weaknesses of the joints, limbs that have been paralyzed; rheumatism, especially in cases of stiff joints, and contracted cords; stiffness and contraction of the neck and other parts.

Dr. H. wishes the public to understand, that his practice extends to diseases of the joints and limbs generally. He has also been very successful in the treatment of tic-douloureux, or neuralgia, in its various forms.

Dr. H. has frequently been consulted in cases of diseases requiring internal medicines or surgical operations. He would inform the public, he does not prescribe internal medicines, or perform surgical operations, in any case whatever; nor does he ever intend to practise in any thing but bone-setting and diseases of the limbs and joints. This practice Dr. H. considers as entirely separate from that of physicians and surgeons, and he believes it not to be understood by them. It has always been confined to the above branch, except by a few impostors, who travel the country, calling themselves bone-setters, physicians, and surgeons, when, in fact, they understand neither branch. Two or three such have visited this city within a few years; and this is probably the reason why so many have mistaken the profession of Dr. H.

Patients from the country can be furnished with board in the house where Dr. H. keeps his office, or in the neighborhood, at from $2.50 to $5 a week.

Dr. H. wishes all persons to call between the hours of five and twelve, A. M.

Dr. H. regrets that, after eight or ten years' successful practice in his profession in Boston, his mode of treatment should still be misunderstood; and that, notwithstanding his advertisement, in which he has been very explicit, his practice has often been grossly misrepresented.

Dr. H. has no desire to have any collision with the medical faculty, and he has heretofore tried to avoid it; but as he has been credibly informed that several of those gentlemen have been in the habit of saying, his cures are exclusively cases of stiffness and debility of the joints, where there is no inflammation, he feels that justice to himself compels him to make another public statement. He assures the public, he has been most successful in cases of inflammation; indeed, he has often been under the necessity of producing inflammation to effect his cures, which he has never failed to allay by his applications. But he does not wish the public to rely solely on his assertions. For proof, he refers to the subjoined certificates.

Dr. H. has been informed that physicians, and others, have been in the habit of saying, his cures are effected entirely by *friction*, or rubbing. He thinks it very singular that this impression should have gained currency, when it is known to many of his patients, that he frequently has cases in which he uses no friction at all. It has further been reported, that he uses the same application in all cases, however different in character. Nothing can be further from the truth; for his mode of treatment varies according to the nature of the disease, as his patients can testify. And, speaking of varying treatment, he would ask, what other do the faculty use in cases of diseased joints, than confinement, low diet, leeching, blisters, issues, &c.? All the cases he has seen, that have been in the hands of the faculty, have

cords contracted, and the limb became three or four inches shorter than the other: after remaining in this state several weeks, the limb became emaciated and stiff, so that it was entirely useless. In the following September, I applied to Dr. S. C. Hewett, whose invaluable applications gave such immediate relief, that, in a few days, the patient was enabled to walk without crutches, and in a few weeks, the limb was perfectly restored. I have great confidence in Dr. H.'s knowledge of diseased limbs; and, should any one of my family be again afflicted with the same or similar diseases, I should, without hesitation, apply to Dr. Hewett, and shall ever most cheerfully recommend him to all who may be afflicted with such distressing diseases. JONATHAN KILHAM.

Cook's Court.

From Rev. Nathaniel Chapman, Pastor of the Congregational Church and Society, in Bristol, Maine.

Bristol, Nov. 1, 1831.

I hereby certify, that, in July, 1829, I received a very heavy blow from the kick of a horse upon my right knee. A severe inflammation succeeded, and the knee was excessively painful. I sought assistance from several of the most respectable surgeons in New England. The course of treatment on which they placed the most reliance was rest of the limb, blistering, and caustic issues. The limb, however, continued entirely useless, and I was unable to walk a step for more than two years. I then put myself under the care of Dr. S. C. Hewett of Boston; and his course of treatment helped the knee very soon. I began to walk in a few days, and in three weeks I laid my crutches by. In nine weeks, I could walk several miles in a day, without injury to the knee. I then settled with Dr. Hewett, and considered myself free from his care; but, unfortunately, I hurt my knee the same day so badly, that I could not walk. I again applied to Dr. H., and by his assiduous exertions, accompanied by the divine blessing, my limb was restored in less than three weeks, so that I could walk better than I could before the last injury. As I am not much acquainted in Boston, if further information is desired respecting these facts, it may be obtained of Deacon John C. Proctor, No. 50 Bowdoin Street. From Dr. Hewett's success with my knee, and in several other cases that have fallen under my own observation, I can have no doubt he is very successful in his treatment of diseased bones and joints; and he has, to my knowledge, performed astonishing cures in restoring limbs that were greatly emaciated, badly contracted, and thereby rendered useless. I therefore freely recommend him to all who may be afflicted as I have been.

NATHANIEL CHAPMAN.

From Rev. R. W. Emerson.

Boston, Dec. 10, 1832.

It gives me pleasure to state, that, having been, in December, 1829, confined, for many weeks, to my chair, and having suffered much inconvenience from a lame knee, which had been strained by a fall, I was relieved rapidly and perfectly, by the skilful treatment of Dr S. C. Hewett. Dr. H. has been very successful in the care of another case within my knowledge. I esteem his skill in his profession to be valuable to the community. R. W. EMERSON.

Chardon Street.

From Deacon Thomas Kendall.

Boston, Aug. 15, 1832.

This may certify, that, in August, 1831, one of my family, by falling from a chaise, received a severe injury in her right arm and shoulder; and although attended by a skilful physician, yet, after enduring much pain, for about six weeks, the arm being almost useless, and the shoulder quite so, Dr. S. C. Hewett was employed, under whose treatment, in a few weeks, the limb was almost perfectly restored, and for several months past has been perfectly well.

THOMAS KENDALL.

53 *Chamber Street.*

From the Principal of Phillips Academy.

Andover, Mass. Sept. 5, 1832.

Dear Sir—I cheerfully comply with your request, and send you the enclosed with grateful feelings for your indefatigable attention to my daughter.

This certifies, that my daughter, Abby Ann, received an injury upon her left hand, in November, 1830, in consequence of striking the back of it upon a post, by a misstep in getting out of a chaise; that she remained under the treatment of different skilful physicians, until April 26th, 1831, being unable to move a finger on that hand, or to have it moved in the least degree, without giving her great pain. Under these circumstances, upon the solicitation and recommendation of friends in Boston, I was induced to place my daughter under the care of Dr. S. C. Hewett, where she continued about three months, and, then returning home with her hand *entirely restored*, has enjoyed the use of it ever since.

JOHN ADAMS.

From the Principal of Marblehead Academy.

Marblehead, Sept. 6, 1832.

Let this certify, that Mrs. Carlton, my wife, was troubled with a lame ankle, five or six years, caused by a sprain. In 1830, she sprained it again, which caused a dangerous inflammation and lameness. She consulted physicians in the country, but obtained no relief. She applied to the first assistance in Boston. Not gaining any relief, she finally consulted Dr. S. C. Hewett, bone-setter, of Boston. His management and attention proved very effectual. She can now walk as usual, which she has not done before, without crutches, for years, and it is confidently believed, that, had she not received the attention of Dr. H., she never would have walked again. I can say, I cheerfully recommend Dr. H., and have confidence in his skill. OLIVER CARLTON.

From Robert Holmes, Esq.

Kingston, Sept. 23, 1832.

This is to certify, that my wife was afflicted with a white swelling on her ankle joint for several months, and it became a vitiated ulcer,—was advised by the physician to apply to the Mass. General Hospital, which she did. After a few days' trial in the Hospital, the doctors there advised her to return home, and have it amputated. She was brought immediately out of the Hospital, which was the 18th day of July, 1828, was put immediately under the care of Dr. S. C. Hewett, who attended her 11 weeks. His faithful and persevering attendance and prescriptions afterwards healed the ulcer, and restored her health, and she is now able to have the care of her family. As a friend, to any who should be afflicted with a case similar to that I have described, I should recommend them to Dr. S. C. Hewett, with the greatest confidence.

ROBERT HOLMES.

Refer to 49 *Salem Street*, Boston.

From George L. Leavens, Esq.

Boston, Nov. 10, 1832.

This may certify, that, having been afflicted with what I supposed to be the rheumatism for about three months, the principal lameness being in my left leg and hip, after using the usual remedies for the above complaint to no good effect, I was urged by my friends to apply to Dr. S. C. Hewett; and I am able to say, that, through his skill, he has restored to me the use of my limb, which, previous to his treatment,

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could not be used without the aid of crutches. I have full confidence in Dr. Hewett's skill in such complaints. GEORGE L. LEAVENS

13 *Spring Street.*

From John J. Valentine, Esq.

Boston, Dec. 12, 1832.

This is to certify, that, in the year 1827, one of my friends was attacked with the hip disease, in consequence of a fever. For the three following years, the patient was attended by an eminent physician, during which time several abscesses broke out on the hip, which were attended by profuse discharges, great pain, and growing worse. The patient had remained in this state a considerable time, without obtaining any relief, when I applied to Dr. Hewett, having heard of many cures which he had performed in similar cases. When Dr. H. first attended her, the hip was in an inflamed state, and, shortly after, the ball of the thigh bone came off, and out entirely: after a long course of attendance, the hip became perfectly sound. The ball leaving the socket, caused the limb to be about one inch shorter than the other. I now consider the limb perfectly well, being free from all pain and inflammation; and the patient is able to walk nearly as well as usual. The knowledge I have of Dr. H. enables me, with perfect confidence, to recommend him in all similar cases.

JOHN J. VALENTINE.

31 *Federal Street.*

From Allen Mason, Esq.

Swansey, Sept. 22, 1831.

This is to certify, that, in September, 1828, I was attacked with a violent pain in my leg, which, in a short time, became very much swollen and contracted. I applied to a very skilful physician, who prescribed various remedies, but without success, the limb still growing worse. In a short time, I was entirely confined to my bed, and in four weeks became almost helpless; during which time an abscess formed, from

which, on being lanced, it gave me much relief. After having been confined to my bed and room several months, I was able to move about with the assistance of crutches; the limb being much contracted, and gradually falling away. I received the advice of the most eminent surgeons, and followed their prescriptions so far as practicable, but could not regain the use of my limb. For nearly three years after my confinement, I could not walk a step without the aid of crutches, my case having been considered entirely hopeless, owing to my ankle being entirely stiff, without any motion in it, also my knee the same, and the whole limb had become perished; one half its usual size. By the advice of my friends, I applied to Dr. Hewett, whose applications gave me very unexpected relief; and I now consider myself perfectly well, from the skilful treatment of Dr. S. C. Hewett, and consider him unrivalled in his profession. ALLEN MASON.

Refer to 6 *Hollis Street*, Boston.

From William Parkman, Esq.

Boston, Oct. 5, 1832.

The subscriber, having been troubled, for several weeks, with settled weakness and stiffness in the knees, so that he was unable to move about his room without assistance, after trying various remedies, none of which afforded relief, was entirely cured, by the assistance and advice of Dr. S. C. Hewett, whom he confidently recommends. This certificate may be of some use to him as a reference; and he will please to accept it, and also hearty thanks for his assiduity in my behalf, while under his professional care. WILLIAM PARKMAN.

5 *Dock Square*.

Boston, Sept. 3, 1832.

This is to certify, that I was violently attacked with a rheumatic inflammation, in the left knee, to so great a degree that, in twenty-four hours, my limb was so weakened, and the cords so contracted, that it became entirely useless. I applied to a physician, who, no doubt, made use of his best skill; but all his prescriptions had no effect. By the advice of my friends, I went to the Massachusetts General Hospital, and remained there, under the best advice, about four or five weeks. At that time, the surgeons pronounced it to be a white swelling, caused by rheumatism. As it grew worse, I then left, and applied to Dr. S. C. Hewett, hearing of his success in diseases of the joints. After his application, in about six weeks, was able to resume my usual business. I am now perfectly well of the disease, and should cheerfully recommend Dr. H. to all persons afflicted with diseases of joints and limbs

OBED DURRELL.

85 *Washington Street*.

Boston, June 26, 1832.

This is to certify, that my wife had a lame knee, owing to some unknown cause. We applied to our physician and surgeon, without any relief in the least: the knee had become very much swollen, inflamed and stiff, so as to deprive her of the use of it entirely: we then applied to Dr. S. C. Hewett, who, in the course of four or five weeks, cured her knee. It is with gratitude we recommend Dr. Hewett to all others afflicted with similar cases.

ASA N. DIMMICK.

14 *Second Street*.

Boston, June 26, 1832.

This is to certify, that I had a stiff and inflamed knee, which was very painful, owing to the kick of my horse. I applied to the first surgeons of this city, who rendered me no relief; also said they thought it would never get any better. Being disheartened at the idea of never being any better, I made some application of my prescriptions. The case continued worse. My friends advised me to apply to Dr. Hewett, who entirely cured me, which was more than I had ever expected. I would cheerfully recommend him to all afflicted with similar cases. JOSEPH HALL.

74 *Boylston Street*.

Franklin, Sept. 24, 1832.

In February last, I had a swelling come on my knee, which, in a few days, had so weakened the joint and contracted the cords, that I was unable to walk without crutches. I had several physicians, whose prescriptions had no good effect: my knee continued to grow worse for six weeks, when I applied to Dr. Hewett, who said a white swelling had commenced. By his close attention to it for a short time, I was enabled to walk without crutches, and in twelve weeks I could walk four or five miles in a day without injury. With feelings of gratitude for the benefit I have received, and with perfect confidence in the skill of Dr. Hewett, I can cheerfully recommend him to all afflicted with similar complaints. While under Dr. Hewett's care, I boarded with Capt. Adams, who keeps the Lamb Tavern, who will confirm the above statement. A. M. B. FULLER.

Refer to 369 *Washington Street*, Boston.

Boston, Oct. 1, 1832.

This may certify, that I have been afflicted with a lame ankle for nearly three years. The first eleven months, I was under the care of a skilful physician of the place, but got no relief. I then went to Boston, and sent for Dr. Hewett, who, on examining, called my case a white swelling. In a short time, it came

EMERSON TRANSMITS NEWS FROM GERMANY, 1824

By the Editor

The impact of German Biblical scholarship on Ralph Waldo Emerson during the 1820's and early 1830's is known to us chiefly in hints, outlines and bibliographies, and I hope, in my forthcoming work, The Transcendentalists and German Biblical Criticism, to prepare a carefully documented study that will be useful in a variety of ways to scholars in American literature. The letter to be edited below is interesting chiefly because it implies that Ralph was a party to the experiments of Bancroft as well as the helper of his brother William.[2] As early as May 11, 1822, he wrote his classmate, John Boynton Hill: "Bancroft is expected to return from Europe in July and it is supposed that he will become the successor of Mr Greenwood in the New South Church." On Jan. 3, 1823, writing to the same correspondent, he reported:[4] "I heard him [Bancroft] preach at New South, a few Sabbaths since, and was much delighted with his eloquence. So were all. He needs a great deal of cutting & pruning, but we think him an infant Hercules. All who know him, agree in this, that he has improved his time thoroughly in Gottingen. He has become a perfect Greek scholar, and knows well, all that he pretends to know; as to Divinity, he has never studied it, but was approbated abroad." But Bancroft was not long to remain in the active ministry. The fields of teaching, diplomacy, and historical scholarship became more attractive, and on June 19, 1823, Emerson wrote Hill:[5] "I hasten to tell you that Bancroft & Cogswell have recently issued their prospectus giving an account of their intentions in

forming a Gymnasium. They have obtained a house at Northampton & propose to begin with 15 scholars only in October.... I mourn—because good schoolmasters are plenty as whortleberries but good ministers assuredly are not—& Bancroft might be one of the best." The "Prospectus" issued by Joseph Green Cogswell and George Bancroft is dated June 20, 1823.[6] (This Cogswell along with George Ticknor and Edward Everett had preceded Bancroft to Germany and had made such a good impression on the Continental universities that Bancroft had received an unusually warm welcome.)[7] The following letter indicates that Bancroft's contact with Germany continued, that William Emerson had a close tie with Bancroft, and that Ralph was aware of all that transpired:

Göttingen, 15 Sept. 1824,

Mr. George Bancroft,

Dear Sir,

The Hofrath Heeren[8] has requested me to add a few lines to what he has written concerning Dr. Bode. This I do with the more pleasure, as I have yet a debt of gratitude to pay, for the kindness which afforded me so many facilities for my visit to Göttingen.

This young gentleman has visited me twice. His exterior is simple and agreeable. He does not appear unreasonable in his expectations, and would therefore probably be easily contented at Northampton. His age is 21. He says he has read a good deal of English, and although he has hitherto had very little opportunity of speaking that language, yet he can already make himself understood in it. I presume the inclosed letter informs you of his highly creditable attainments as a philologian. Professors Benecke,[9] Bunsen,[10] and Heeren have all spoken well of him to me, and from what the last has told me of your wishes, I think you would find him all that you desire.

I regret that I have no novelties, wherewith to give you a moment's amusement. Not even a rebellion has occurred to give variety to the even tenour of academic life--though the number of students the last semester has exceeded 1500. Perhaps you may not know that Eichhorn[11] has recently printed a much improved edition of his Einl. in das A. Test. Bouterwek[12] too has just published a treatise 'Über die Religion.' Michaelis[13] and Hug[14] have crossed the Rhine--been translated and commended at Geneva.

Allow me to express my best wishes for the continuance of that success which has hitherto attended your institution. From personal experience, I can sympathize with you in the joys and sorrows of your employment. The latter must however be very sensibly diminished by the society of the intelligent and hospitable families of Mr. Mills, Judge Lyman,[15] Mr. T. Strong and others. Please to present my respects to Mr. Cogswell. He may possibly recollect an idle little boy in A class of which he was particular tutor. If you know my Classmate and friend Mr. Ashmun,[16] I beg you to remember me affectionately to him.

Respectfully, Sir, Your obliged friend and servt

William Emerson.

[ENVELOPE:]

BOSTON Dec. 16

Mr. George Bancroft.
Northampton
Mass.
Care of Mr R. W. Emerson (

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1 See Ralph L. Rusk, The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson, N.Y., 1949, and Stanley M. Vogel, German Literary Influences on the American Transcendentalists, New Haven, 1955. See also the three published reading lists.

2 The MS. given above is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society and edited with the kind permission of its director.

3 Letters, I, 113. See also p. 117.

4 Letters, I, 127. 5 Letters, I, 134.

6 Prospectus of a School to be Established at Round Hill, Northampton, Massachusetts, by Joseph G. Cogswell and George Bancroft.

7 See M. A. DeWolfe Howe, "George Bancroft," D A B, I, 564-570. Bancroft had sailed for Europe in June, 1818, to pursue studies in theology and philology. He received the M.A. and Ph.D. from Göttingen in Sept., 1820. He spent the next two years at Heidelberg, studying oriental languages and Biblical learning. There he met, among others, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn and Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren. He returned to America in August, 1822, and was offered a tutorship in Greek at Harvard and supply duty in local pulpits.

8 See preceding note.

9 Georg Friederich Benecke.

10 Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen.

11 See footnote 7. 12 Friedrich Bouterwek.

13 Johann David Michaelis.

14 Johann Leonhard von Hug.

15 Joseph Lyman. 16 John Hooker Ashmun.

BILLY BUDD AND 'AN EXECUTION AT SEA'

By the Editor

Although earlier treatments of the "Billy Budd theme" have been pointed out[1] and The Melville Log[2] has indexed numerous references to The Knickerbocker; or, New York Monthly Magazine, I have found no mention of what may well have offered suggestions to Melville while he was at work on his short story: "An Execution at Sea. A Sketch," published in The

Knickerbocker, VIII, pp. 285-288 (March, 1836), and reprinted in other periodicals soon thereafter. For example, it was featured on page one of the Yeoman's Gazette, (Concord, Mass.), Apr. 23, 1836, and was, doubtless, read by Emerson and, possibly, by Thoreau. The Claggart type of character is mentioned in the first paragraph. The sketch contains a court-martial. No fear is manifested in the man executed. The commodore is described as "just and firm." There is no movement in the figure at the yardarm for a very good reason which Melville omitted or took for granted. The ending is a poor attempt at rhetoric--flat in comparison with Melville's--but significant.

AN EXECUTION AT SEA.

A SKETCH.

'A MAN may smile, and smile — and be a villain still.'

We sometimes meet, in the ordinary walks of life, with those who either from envy or malice, secretly endeavor to injure others, on whom they bestow personally all the attention and kindness that friendship could expect or receive. Such characters are contemptible enough; yet such there are — and compared to them, the highway-robber is generous and noble. But I did not intend to speak of these craven creatures, when I made the foregoing quotation. I was thinking of one who proved at last a murderer, without any previous phrenological signs — who was of fair proportions, and possessed neither a bad countenance, nor a surly disposition.

In the year 18—, the good United States' Frigate B—— left Payta, the port of Puira, for Callao. For several days, we were employed beating up along the land, against a head wind and current. From the snow-capt Andes the fresh breeze swept down across the valley and over the sea, cold and bitter. We made but little progress on our voyage, and the commodore concluded to adopt the usual method of vessels bound to windward, along the Western coast of South America; that is, to stand to the Southward and Westward, until you reach the variables, or make the latitude of your destined port. We *had* reached the variables — we had run our latitude: the wind being favorable, we tacked ship, and were standing in for land and 'Old Callao' — elated with the idea of visiting even that miserable place once more: not that we anticipated any enjoyment ashore, but letters from our far distant homes must certainly have arrived during our late absence on a cruise to leeward.

The sun had passed meridian, and the fine breeze of the morning was fast dying away. Hour after hour of the afternoon seemed to hang heavy on us — for the smile of hope which brightened the countenance of each while the breeze lasted, was gone. At last the sun went down, in clouded but glorious majesty, and was lost in the embrace of ocean. The breeze left us with the sun — our ship was rolling uneasily in a sea-way — her sails hanging idly from the yards, and flapping mournfully against her masts. She seemed a croaking bird of ill omen on the wide waste of waters. Darkness prevailed — cloud after cloud was gathering above — no breeze came to gladden us — no moon to cheer: all was thick and quiet gloom. It was midnight — the watch had been relieved and mustered — junior officers were pacing the deck — men sitting in groups at their stations — the lieutenant of the deck on the arm-chest *feeling* for a breeze — and the old quarter-master at the conn occasionally hinting, as he turned his quid — looking around, and glancing at the binnacle — that a breeze from the South'ard and West'ard would spring up before morning. Jacko (the monkey) had found a safe retreat, and the poultry were undisturbed. All save the tigress seemed inclined to repose. She (the varmint!) was taking her usual excursion among the after-guard. Now and then you might hear the exclamation, '*Here comes the bloody tiger-cat!*' Thus we lay, languidly rolling on the lazy swells, in a calm — a dead calm. Better that the winds were piping loud, than one of those dull, heavy ca.m.

Is there then no hope of a breeze? I would rather be reefing topsails every half hour,' said an old reefer, 'than lying on a breathless ocean in this way.'

'Hark!' he was answered. 'Heard you not a noise? — a noise below?'

'No,' was the quick reply — that 's nothing. Some poor fellow has been let down by the head by a mischievous shipmate; or perhaps a shot has got adrift, or one of the gallapagos slipped from his pen.'

'Hark again! Did no one hear a groan? Young gentlemen, one of you step below,' (said the officer of the deck,) and let me know what is the matter.'

'Ay, ay, Sir.'

'Birth-deck there! Master-at-arms, what noise is that upon the birth-deck? Get a light — quick! — bring it forward. Secure that shot, there, rolling about on the deck. It will trip some of you up. Ha! What bloody business is this? Is he dead!'

THERE lay old G——, senseless on the deck — his head upon the combings of the fore-hatch — his skull fractured.

'Call the surgeon!' was the word: quick — quick!' Report was immediately made to the officer of the deck, then to the first lieutenant, who proceeded to examine some of the crew, against whom momentary suspicions were awakened. But one, whose watch it was below, was not to be found in his hammock, nor on the main or birth-deck: search was made for him on the spar-deck, where he was at length found, apparently asleep, in the lee-gangway, between two carronades. (A breeze sprang up in the mean time, as we were now on the starboard tack.) He was rigidly questioned, but as there was not sufficient evidence against him, he was liberated; and two other suspected fellows were confined. Thus rested the affair for the night, and the vessel pursued her course.

'By to-morrow's sun the breeze will freshen,' said the old quarter-master: and so it did. After breakfast, another inquiry was held: all hands were called, and from the evidence collected, suspicion fell strongly upon the individual found in the lee-gangway, while the two previously put in the *brig* were set at liberty. The prisoner was put in irons, and committed to solitary confinement. G—— died, and was buried. His bed was his coffin, and his grave the gardens of coral, where the sea star 'lights up his tomb.' In a day or two, far above the low and sleeping clouds, we saw the glistening heights of the Cordilleras — then the barren isle of San Lorenzo — until rounding the point, and standing toward the Castle, we reached our anchorage.

After the arrival of other vessels of the squadron, a court-martial was called and held for the trial of the prisoner. Counsel was given him, and the evidence brought forward. After a fair and patient hearing, the court, which had been sitting for several days, adjourned. The jack was no longer seen at the fore, nor the signal-gun for the meeting of the court heard. At nine in the morning, the verdict was sent in to the commodore, and early on the following day, all hands being called, the prisoner was brought upon deck, and placed at the fife-rail of the mainmast, facing the crew. The sentence was read to him by the judge advocate. He stood firm — not a muscle moved, till he heard the words — '*hung at the fore yard-arm of the United States' Frigate B—— till you are dead — dead!*' — then you could see a slight twitch or two in the muscles of his neck, but no sign of fear. With a firm step, he returned to his place of confinement. Every comfort was allowed him, both of body and mind. One who was religiously inclined, read to him daily from the Bible, and exhorted him to prepare for his exit — to become humble and penitent for his sins. 'May God be merciful!' he replied: 'my heart is hard; I have tried, but cannot change it. My doom is just. I did the deed.' He stated that he had let fall from the main-deck, at the fore-hatch, a thirty-two pound shot upon the head of the deceased, (but not with intention to kill him,) under the suspicion that he had reported him for improper conduct.

Day after day and week after week passed away; and at length the morning of the day appointed for his execution arrived. No preparations were made for getting under way, and nothing was known of the commodore's intentions. He was a man just and firm in his decisions, intelligent and discreet in all his actions. 'Will he pardon him?' says one: 'Can't we run over to some uninhabited island, and hang him there?' says another; 'the ship will never be lucky again, if he is hung on board; some misfortune will happen to us; the men will not lay out on the fore-yard at night to reef or furl the fore-sail.' Many were the conjectures thus made by the crew, during the morning.

'Well, Mr. A——,' (observed the commodore, in his usual mild tone, as he came upon deck, about eleven o'clock, A. M.,) 'the breeze

has fairly set in, and this is the day for the execution of L——. Get the ship under way, Sir, and stand out of the harbor.'

'Ay, ay, Sir. All hands up anchor!'

The vessel was got under way in a few minutes, and so silently, that scarcely a voice was heard, except the first lieutenant's. All was still and quiet as a funeral. Save the dashing of the waves against our bows, not a sound was heard. When outside of the harbor, the fore-top-sail was laid to the mast, and all hands were called to witness the execution. A line was rove through a tail block on the starboard fore-yard-arm, thence into the quarter of the yard through another, down on deck through a leading block, aft to the taffrail, through a snatch-block, and forward on the larboard side. In order to prevent any quarrels hereafter, every man as well as boy on board (except the officers) was ordered to take hold of it. A stage was rigged on the hammock-rails, under the fore-yard, and the prisoner ordered on deck. Up he came, accompanied by the master-at-arms and one of the captains of the forecastle. A hangman's noose was around his neck, and he was very pale; but his step was firm and steady — his eye unflinching. No remorse, no sorrow, no regrets, had he. Calm and collected, he mounted the scaffold. His hands were tied behind him, and two thirty-two pound shot were secured to his feet. The ship rolled heavily on the heaving sea, but it moved him not. A black handkerchief was tied round his face; and at the discharge of one of our gangway guns, he was swayed aloft, till the boatswain piped 'Belay!" The smoke curled upward--his spirit departed--and when the last trump shall sound, and the sea shall give up her dead, then will Henry L—— appear at the judgment-seat to answer for his crimes.

It was intended to cut him from the fore-yard, and let him fall into the sea; but the knot not slipping readily, it was thought prudent to let him hang awhile. Dinner being ready, we piped down, leaving him dangling in the breeze. When the hands were turned to, he was lowered down—laid upon a plank at the gangway—examined by the surgeon, and canted into the sea. Then we filled away, and stood in for our anchorage.

G.

1 See B. R. McElderry, Jr., "Three Earlier Treatments of the Billy Budd Theme," A L, XXVII, no. 2 (May, 1955), 251-257.
2 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville, (2 vols.), N.Y., [1951], passim.

THE WHEREABOUTS OF THOREAU'S NATURAL HISTORY COLLECTIONS

By the Editor

In 1862, the Boston Society of Natural History acknowledged receipt of some of Thoreau's collections, especially "one thousand specimens of New England pressed plants together with others gathered on his western journey of 1861; a well-identified collection of New England birds' eggs and nests; and a collection of Indian antiquities, consisting of stone implements and weapons found by himself in Concord."[1] A notice in 1901[2] gives further interesting details: "At his decease Henry D. Thoreau bequeathed to the Boston Society of Natural history his herbarium excluding the Carices. The latter he gave to Mr. Edwin S. Hoar of Concord, Mass. After some years the Boston Society of Natural History gave the part in their possession to the town of Concord and it is now deposited in the Public Library. It consists of six large sized folios of about 100 sheets each, several specimens being mounted upon one sheet. The plants, which are arranged systematically have no labels, the names being written on the sheets often without further data, and sometimes with a pencil. Some Maine plants are included but Concord and its vicinity have the largest representation. In a written catalogue 750 species and varieties are recorded." I have recently received notice that in 1869 the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University received a large part of Thoreau's collection. Under date of December 7, 1955, Mrs. Helen W. Whiting, chief cataloguer, wrote: "I find, from our accession records, that the Thoreau Collection to which you refer was received in 1869, not 1870. It is here, has been kept together and is labelled at the moment with its accession number and the name H. D. Thoreau. It has not been indexed other than for cataloguing purposes and is now in storage since we are in the process of redoing our archaeological exhibition from Massachusetts."

Does anyone know of any other parts of this scattered treasure?

1 Kenneth W. Cameron, "Emerson, Thoreau, and the Society of Natural History," A L, XXIV, no. 1 (March, 1952), pp. 21-30, esp. p. 23.
2 Rhodora: Journal of the New England Botanical Club, III, no. 35 (Nov., 1901), p. 283.

Memories of R. W. Emerson Visiting England

(Reprinted from The Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 9, 1955, page 12.)

MARCH 1848 Mr. Mills was invited to go and take me with him to meet Emerson at Dr. Hodgson's house in Broughton. We had already heard Emerson lecture, and were greatly excited and delighted at the prospect of meeting him. . . . During the evening I noticed, with envy, some of the ladies take up their albums, evidently purposely brought, and Mr. Emerson giving them his autograph, just name and date. Summoning up a little courage, and determined to get something for myself, I watched for a quiet moment, when he was standing looking at the book-shelves, now and then opening a volume and carefully replacing it. Going up to him I said, "Mr. Emerson, I have no album, so will you please give me just a thought as well as your name?" Smiling, he took a letter out of his pocket book, tore off the blank sheet, and wrote off these words:

"As sings the pine-tree in the wind,
So sings in the wind a sprig of the pine.

R. W. EMERSON."

1873.—On May 12 we once more, and for the last time, met Emerson. He was, with Miss Emerson, spending two or three days with Mr. Ireland before sailing for

home, and came one day to lunch with us at Northwold. He and Alexander came early, and the three had a long sit and talk in the garden, Mrs. Ireland, Miss Emerson, and Mrs. R. R. Moore coming later. There occurred during this short visit a simple and beautifully characteristic incident which I thought worthy of preservation.

As we were pacing about the lawn, one of the little girls ran up to Mr. Emerson, holding out a bunch of daisies; lifting her up, he thanked her with a kiss, and gently put her down again, not breaking the thread of talk in which they were absorbed, holding the daisies carefully all the time. Presently we went in to lunch, and Emerson, putting his hat on to a form in the porch, dropped the flowers into it.

What a quiet dignity was in his manner, as he talked! Afterwards Mrs. Moore said to me, "Is he not as a king amongst men?" When settled in the library for a chat, I ran upstairs, took out my precious slip of blue paper where it had lain for twenty-six years, and laid it before Mr. Emerson.

"You have not really kept this all these years," he asked, greatly amused, and somewhat touched as well.

Taking up a pen he added, as I requested, his name and the date, and it was once more carefully laid by, to be brought to light after the lapse of another quarter of a century. . . .

As our honoured guest left, we all went out into the porch to say farewell, and when he, absentminded, took up and put on his hat, lo! all the daisies fell out, showering over his face to the ground! "Bless the child!" he softly said, and stooping, picked up every daisy, taking them away in his hand. The child was there, and he would not have her feelings hurt by any seeming neglect of her little gift.

In the evening, Mr. Ireland had an "At home," and after the other guests had left, the host, Mr. Emerson, and Mr. Mills had a long sitting, not breaking up till after midnight. Alexander had begged Mr. Mills to show Emerson some of his poems, but he refused; however, Mr. Ireland read some to him, and he said, "Why does he not publish them?" . . .—From "From Tinder Box to the 'Larger Light;'" Threads from the life of John Mills, banker (author of "Vox Humana"), interwoven with some recollections by his wife.

THE FUNERAL OF THOREAU, which took place in Concord yesterday, drawing together a large company of his towns-people, with some votive pilgrims from parts beyond, was an occasion more impressive and memorable, by much, than is the wont of such scenes. It derived uncommon interest from the remarkable character of the man whose earthly life was ended, and from the weight and worth of the tributary words so fitly, so tenderly spoken there by friendly and illustrious lips. As that fading image of pathetic clay, strewn with wild flowers and forest sprigs, lay awaiting interment, thoughts of its former occupant seemed blent with all the local landscapes. And though the church-bell—after the affecting old custom—tolled the forty-four years he had numbered, we could not deem that *he* was dead whose ideas and sentiments were so vividly alive in our souls.

This obituary notice, found in the Harvard University Archives, is continued on page 17.

CHANNING'S HYMN AT THOREAU'S FUNERAL

By the Editor

In Louisa May Alcott's letter to Sophia Foord,[1] written shortly after May 6, 1862, reference is made to the "stanzas" of William Ellery Channing (1818-1901), sung just before Bronson Alcott read from Thoreau's works and the coffin was carried to the cemetery. I have recently discovered among old papers in the cellar of the Concord Free Public Library a specimen of the rare circular, about the size of an 8 1/2" x 11" standard sheet folded in half, printed in six- and seven-point type, and, doubtless, hastily executed upon news of Henry's death. Several questions arise in connection with its distribution at the church for choral use. Was it written before May 6 and in anticipation of the event by the ever-thoughtful Channing? Was it printed in Concord? Was the tune that of a familiar Unitarian hymn or a secular song? Why did Channing select it as appropriate? Might it have been "Old Hundredth"? Christian words neither Thoreau nor Emerson would probably have tolerated.

STANZAS:

Written to be sung at the funeral of HENRY D. THOREAU, of Concord, Massachusetts,

Friday, May 9th, 1862.

Hearest thou the sobbing breeze complain
How faint the sunbeams light the shore,—
His heart more fixed than earth or main,
Henry! that faithful heart is o'er.

O weep not thou thus vast a soul,
O do not mourn this lordly man,
As long as Walden's waters roll,
And Concord river fills a span.

For thoughtful minds in Henry's page
Large welcome find and bless his verse,
Drawn from the poet's heritage,
From wells of right and nature's source.

Fountains of hope and faith! inspire
Most stricken hearts to lift this cross,
His perfect trust shall keep the fire,
His glorious peace disarm all loss!

Selections from the Bible were read by the minister. A brief ode, written for the purpose by William Ellery Channing, was plaintively sung. Mr. Emerson read an address of considerable length, marked by all his felicity of conception and diction—an exquisite appreciation of the salient and subtle traits of his friend's genius—a high strain of sanative thoughts, full of beauty and cheerfulness, chastened by the gentle sorrow of the hour. Referring to the Alpine flower *adelweiss*, or noble purity, which the young Switzers sometimes lose their lives in plucking from its perilous heights, Mr. Emerson said, "Could we pierce to where he is we should see him wearing profuse chaplets of it; for it belonged to him. Whose there is knowledge, where there is virtue, where there is beauty, where there is progress, there is now his home."

Mr. Alcot read some very appropriate passages from the writings of the deceased, and the service closed with a prayer by the Rev. Mr. Reynolds. A long procession was then formed to follow the body to the grave. The hands of friends reverently lowered it into the bosom of the earth, on the pleasant hillside of his native village, whose prospects will long wait to unfurl themselves to another observer so competent to discriminate their features, and so attuned to their moods. And now that it is too late for any further boon amidst his darling haunts below,

> There will yet his mother yield
> A pillow in her greenest field,
> Nor the June flowers scorn to cover
> The clay of their departed lover.

Indeed, Louisa May felt that Thoreau would have disapproved even Emerson's decision to have the funeral service inside a church building.[2] There is a touch of irony in the fact that the "hymn" is addressed neither to a Hebrew Jehovah, nor to a Christian Trinity, nor to a Transcendental Oversoul, but to those present and, by extension, to the world of readers of "Henry's page," wherein are commended the "fountains of hope and faith" which can assuage the grief of bereavement. This first printing differs slightly from the text in Channing's biographical volume,[3] but principally in punctuation and in a modified last line.

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1 See Walter Harding, "Thoreau's Feminine Foe," P M L A, LXIX (1954), pp. 110-116, esp. p. 115.
2 Harding, loc. cit., p. 115.
3 William Ellery Channing, Thoreau: The Poet-Naturalist. With Memorial Verses, Boston, 1873, p. 328. The caption is "To Henry."

YOUNG EMERSON, BARDISM, AND CIRCLE IMAGERY

By the Editor

That Emerson, while at Harvard, explored and employed the orientalism and themes of Southey's The Curse of Kehama, and especially its notes, was established in my recent edition of the Exhibition poem, Indian Superstition, the manuscript of which is owned by a member of our Society, John L. Cooley, Esq., of Pleasantville, N. Y.[1] Though I cannot offer exact evidence that Emerson actually read or quoted from Southey's Madoc in Wales, I think it is highly probable that he knew that "epic" and through it made his first significant contact with Bardism---long before he handled Southey's source works themselves. For the benefit of scholars who are becoming interested in Emerson's imagery and themes, I should like here to call attention to some of the notes to Madoc---to typical riches which Southey borrowed from Evan Evans' Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Antient Welsh Bards.[2]

[1] The crier to command silence was one of the royal household; first he performed this service by his voice, then by striking with the rod of his office the pillars above the king's head. A fine was due to him for every disturbance in the court.

[2] The lines which follow represent the Bardic system, as laid down in the following *Triads of Bardism*: —

"12. There are three Circles of Existence; the Circle of Infinity, where there is nothing but God, of living or dead, and none but God can traverse it; the Circle of Inchoation, where all things are by Nature derived from Death, .. this Circle hath been traversed by man; and the Circle of Happiness, where all things spring from Life, .. this man shall traverse in Heaven.

"13. Animated Beings have three States of Existence: that of Inchoation in the Great Deep, or Lowest point of Existence; that of Liberty in the State of Humanity; and that of Love, which is Happiness in Heaven.

"14. All animated Beings are subject to three Necessities; beginning in the Great Deep; Progression in the Circle of Inchoation; and Plenitude in the Circle of Happiness. Without these things nothing can possibly exist but God.

"15. Three things are necessary in the Circle of Inchoation; the least of all animation, and thence Beginning; the materials of all things, and thence Increase, which cannot take place in any other state; the formation of all things out of the dead mass, and thence Discriminate Individuality.

"16. Three things cannot but exist towards all animated Beings from the nature of Divine Justice: Co-sufferance in the Circle of Inchoation, because without that none could attain to the perfect knowledge of any thing; Co-participation in the Divine love; and Co-ultimity from the nature of God's Power, and its attributes of Justice and Mercy.

"17. There are three necessary occasions of Inchoation: to collect the materials and properties of every nature; to collect the knowledge of every thing; and to collect power towards subduing the Adverse and the Devastative, and for the divestation of Evil. Without this traversing every mode of animated existence, no state of animation, or of any thing in nature, can attain to Plenitude."

[3] "By the knowledge of three things will all Evil and Death be diminished and subdued; their nature, their cause, and their operation. This knowledge will be obtained in the Circle of Happiness."—*Triads of Bardism*, Tr. 35.

[4] *Angau*, the Welsh word for Death, signifies Enlargement.

[5] *Nefoedd*, the Welsh word for Heaven, signifies Renovation.

"The three Excellencies of changing the mode of Existence in the Circle of Happiness:—Acquisition of Knowledge; beautiful Variety; and Repose, from not being able to endure uniform Infinity and uninterrupted Eternity.

"Three things none but God can do: endure the Eternities of the Circle of Infinity; participate of every state of Existence without changing; and reform and renovate every thing

without the loss of it.

"The three Plenitudes of Happiness:—Participation of every nature, with a plenitude of One predominant; conformity to every cast of genius and character, possessing superior excellence in One; the Love of all Beings and Existences, but chiefly concentred in one object, which is God; and in the predominant One of each of these will the Plenitude of Happiness consist."—*Triads of Bardism*, 40. 38. 45.

[6] "I will extol the generous Hero, descended from the race of Roderic, the bulwark of his country, a Prince eminent for his good qualities, the glory of Britain: Owen, the brave and expert in arms, that neither hoardeth nor coveteth riches.

"Three fleets arrived, vessels of the main, three powerful fleets of the first rate, furiously to attack him on the sudden: one from Iwerddon*, the other full of well-armed Lochlynians, making a grand appearance on the floods, the third from the transmarine Normans, which was attended with an immense though successless toil.

"The dragons of Mona's sons were so brave in action, that there was a great tumult on their furious attack; and before the prince himself there was vast confusion, havoc, conflict, honourable death, bloody battle, horrible consternation, and upon Tal Mavra, a thousand banners: there was an outrageous carnage, and the rage of spears and hasty signs of violent indignation. Blood raised the tide of the Menai, and the crimson of human gore stained the brine. There were glittering cuirasses, and the agony of gashing wounds, and the mangled warriors prostrate before the chief, distinguished by his crimson lance. Loegria was put into confusion; the contest and confusion was great, and the glory of our Prince's wide-wasting sword shall be celebrated in an hundred languages to give him his merited praise."—*Pancgyric upon Owen Gwynedd, Prince of North Wales, by Gwalchmai the son of Melir, in the year* 1157.—*Evans's Specimens of Welsh Poetry.*

* Ireland.

A few of Southey's other sources included: Turner's A Vindication,[3] Davies' Celtic Researches,[4] and Llywarch-Hen's The Heroic Elegies.[5] From the last mentioned, Southey extracted the following:[6]

[1] The Bardic meetings, or *Gorseddau*, were held in the open air, on a conspicuous place, while the sun was above the horizon; for they were to perform every thing *in the eye of light, and in the face of the sun*. The place was set apart by forming a Circle of Stones, with a large stone in the middle, beside which the presiding Bard stood. This was termed *Cylç Cyngrair*, or the Circle of Federation, and the middle stone *Maen Llog*, the Stone of Covenant.

Mr. Owen's very curious introduction to his translation of Llywarc Hen has supplied me with materials for the account of the *Gorsedd*, introduced in the poem. That it might be as accurate as possible, he himself and Edward Williams the Bard did me the favour of examining it. To their knowledge and to that of Mr. Turner, the historian of the Anglo-Saxons, and to the liberality and friendliness with which they have ever been willing to assist me therewith, I am greatly and variously indebted.

The Bard at these meetings wore the distinguishing dress of his order: a robe of sky blue, as an emblem of truth, being unicoloured, and also as a type, that, amid the storms of the moral world, he must assume the serenity of the unclouded sky. The dress of the *Ovydd*, the third order, or first into which the candidate could be admitted, was green. The *Awenyddion*, the Disciples, wore a variegated dress of blue, green, and white, the three Bardic colours, white being the dress of the Druids, who were the second order. The bards stood within the circle bareheaded and barefooted, and the ceremony opened by sheathing a sword and laying it on the Stone of Covenant. The Bardic traditions were then recited.

[2] "By the principles of the Order a Bard was never to bear arms, nor in any other manner to become a party in any dispute, either political or religious; nor was a naked weapon ever to be held in his presence, for under the title of *Bardd Ynys Prydain*, Bard of the Isle of Britain, he was recognised as the sacred Herald of Peace. He could pass unmolested from one country to another, where his character was known; and whenever he appeared in his unicoloured robe, attention was given to him on all occasions; if it was even between armies in the heat of action, both parties would instantly desist."—*Owen's Llywarc Hen.*

Six of the elder Bards are enumerated in the Triads as having borne arms in violation of their Order; but in these latter days the perversion had become more frequent. Meiler, the Bard of Grufydd ab Cynan, distinguished himself in war; Cynddelw, *Brydydd Mawr*, the Great Bard, was eminent for his valour; and Gwalchmai boasts in one of his poems that he had defended the Marches against the Saxons."—*Warrington.*

[3] No people seem to have understood the poetical character so well as the Welsh; witness their Triads.

"The three primary requisites of poetical Genius; an eye

1 Ralph Waldo Emerson, Indian Superstition, ed. with a Dissertation on Emerson's Orientalism at Harvard, Hanover (The Friends of the Dartmouth Library), 1954.

2 Notes to "Madoc" (Pt. I, "Madoc in Wales," sect. II, "The Marriage Feast") in Southey's Poetical Works, Complete in One Volume, London, 1844, p. 318. Evan Evans' work, published in London, 1764, had as subtitle: "With explanatory notes on the historical passages, and a short account of men and places mentioned by the bards" and with De Bardis Dissertatio etc.

3 Sharon Turner, A Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch Hen, and Merdhin, with Specimens of the Poems, London, 1803.

4 Edward Davies, Celtic Researches, on the Origin, Traditions & Language, of the Ancient Britons; with Some Introductory Sketches, on Primitive Society, London, 1804.

5 The Heroic Elegies and Other Pieces, with a literal translation by William Owen [afterwards Owen Pughe], London, 1792.

6 Notes to "Madoc" (Part I: "Madoc in Wales," section XI, "The Gorsedd") in Southey's Poetical Works, ed. cit., p. 341.

SPECIALIZED REVIEWS

onrad Wright, The Beginnings of Unitarianism in nerica, Boston (published by the Starr King Press; istributed by The Beacon Press), [c 1955]. Pp. 305. 4.00.

There have been several accounts during the ast century of the origins of Unitarianism in Amerca, but no previous scholar has treated the subject o definitively as Mr. Wright. In a well-documented nd very readable presentation he covers a period of ixty years from the outbreak of the Great Awakening n 1735 to the controversy over the election of the ollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard in 1805. The uthor stresses in particular the liberal theological ovement known as Arminianism from which Unitarianism ventually developed, but he points out that New Engand liberals who called themselves Arminians did so ot because they were influenced directly by the utch Remonstrant, Jacobus Arminius, but because heir reaction against Calvinism was similar to his. r. Wright's clarification and development of this oint is one of the most valuable aspects of the ook.

In several chapters dealing with basic doctrines of Calvinism, such as Original Sin, Mr. Wright xamines the heart of the problem. He begins with he doctrine of Total Depravity, which was the basis f the orthodox scheme and the first to be rejected y Boston ministers like Charles Chauncy and Jonahan Mayhew. Man may have a capacity to sin, they rgued, but man has the same capacity for righteousess since he is a mixture of good and evil tendencies. This concept, the author contends, was not so essimistic as that of the Calvinists nor so optimistic as that of the later Unitarians.

In his chapter on the freedom of the will, Mr. Wright clarifies another difficult concept. The Arminians, he says, believed that as free moral agents men can respond to the monitions of conscience and the dictates of reason. Implicit in this scheme is the principle that a man's salvation is within his own control. Therefore, even if they agreed with the Calvinists that all power came from God, by dropping the doctrine of election, the doctrine of salvation by grace lost its significance. According to the Arminians all that was required of a man was a sincere regard for religious duties and an obedience to God's moral commandments. Like the first generation of New England Unitarians, then, the Arminians stressed man's development, the only difference being that the Arminians retained the traditional vocabulary of Christian theology, which disappeared in Unitarian writings.

Finally, Mr. Wright explains the Arminian idea of supernatural realism--a combination of natural religion and the Christian revelation, to be distinguished from Deism, which declared the revelation superfluous. However, for the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments he proves beyond a doubt that they still relied mainly on the Bible, thus admitting the claims of revealed religion as well. The working of miracles continued to be accepted even as late as 1821 by Unitarians like William Ellery Channing. "Little wonder, then," Mr. Wright adds, "that a shudder passed over the older members of the congregation when, on a warm evening in July of 1838, a slender young man stood before the graduating class of the Harvard Divinity School, and quietly dismissed what had long been the foundation of Christian faith, the last bulwark against infidelity, and the main reliance when Unitarians were denied the name of Christian."

According to Mr. Wright this was not the only Arminian doctrine which the Unitarians modified. The Arminians, for instance, considered God a benevolent deity whose first concern was the happiness of his creatures; it was not difficult for the Unitarians to go one step further by stressing the Universal Fatherhood of God and dignity of human nature. The salvation of all men had been the conclusion to which the Arminian concept of divine benevolence unmistakably pointed. "Before them, though they knew it not," Mr. Wright declares, "was Emerson's doctrine of the infinity of the soul, whose latent powers are gradually unfolded as it is reshaped by the influx of the divine energy of the Oversoul."

Mr. Wright finally comes to the conclusion that by the beginning of the nineteenth century liberals took for granted the right of each man to read the Bible and interpret it as God gave him light. In Arminianism and anti-Trinitarianism, therefore, a middle ground between Calvinism and infidelity had been found. Christian theology was thus rewritten to conform with the basic patterns of the Age of Reason, and it remained relatively unchanged until Emerson and his generation began to challenge its basic presumptions.

This careful chronological treatment of The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America is especially illuminating because the author treats the subject for its own sake rather than as mere background material for biographies of eighteenth-century theologians. Also for the first time an estimate of Arminianism is presented in an unbiased manner rather than through the writings of opponents like Jonathan Edwards. Students of Emerson have waited a long time for the scholarly account presented here.

STANLEY M. VOGEL
Suffolk University

Stanley M. Vogel, German Literary Influences on the American Transcendentalists, New Haven (Yale University Press), 1955. [Yale Studies in English, vol. 127]. Pp. 196. $4.00.

In this useful compendium Professor Vogel has set himself the task of "tracing the influence of German literature on the major American Transcendentalists when they were forming the doctrines first expressed in Emerson's Nature." In assessing the available scholarship on his subject Professor Vogel observes that one must go back to 1915 for the latest study devoted "primarily to the influence of German literature on the ideas of the whole Transcendental group." Professor Vogel's further purpose is to cleave as much as possible to the purely literary influences, and in preparing the ground for Channing, Ripley, Hedge, and Parker, whom he groups together as the theologians

' the movement, he reenforces this literary pur-
ose by declaring that he does not intend to examine
heological and philosophical doctrines emanating
rom Germany; he wishes only "to establish the
ources of information about these German thinkers,
he number of their works read, and the defense of
hat reading prevalent among the Transcendentalists"
p. 109).

In four introductory chapters Professor Vogel
athers together a background of chronology and per-
onages, beginning with so remote a figure as John
inthrop the Younger (1606-1676), who maintained a
orrespondence with scholarly Germans and who owned
cientific volumes in the German. William Bentley
f Salem was an eighteenth-century figure who ex-
ended his interest in the German beyond Biblical and
lassical scholarship to include contemporary works
y Klopstock, Schiller, and others. The popular mis-
onceptions that German writers were irreligious and
mmoral yielded to sounder views as periodicals like
he Christian Examiner and the North American Review
ook up the defense, and as young Americans, educa-
ed at Göttingen and fresh from the classic inter-
iew with the classic Goethe, returned with philolo-
y, methodology, and ballads. Ticknor, Bancroft,
dward Everett, Cogswell, Motley, Longfellow——
rofessor Orie Long told their adventurous tale twen-
y years ago in Literary Pioneers, and Professor Vo-
el adds Long to other primary and secondary sources
or his own excellent third chapter, "New England
cholars and the Study of German," which is for this
eviewer the most successful portion of the book.

If Professor Vogel's account of the Germanic in-
erests of the Transcendentalists and of their prede-
essors, for that matter, is a more than twice-told
ale with which most of us are fairly well acquain-
ed, the book is nonetheless valuable for bringing
ogether numerous interesting facts from diaries,
ournals, reminiscences, periodicals, and the like.
he scholarly reader will find Professor Vogel's
Bibliography of Manuscripts" (pp. 182-184) a suffi-
ient token of diligence and care.

The main section of the book gives prominence to
merson's rather frigid evaluation of Goethe, to
edge's services in spreading a knowledge of German
iterature and philosophy, to Parker's magnificent
efense of German literature in the Dial for January,
841, and to Margaret Fuller's glowing admiration for
oethe. It is salutary for the Emerson scholar to be
eminded, as he needs to be from time to time, that
f Coleridge and Carlyle are of almost inestimable
alue as transmitters of the German to Emerson, their
mportance must diminish somewhat in their services
o the whole movement. But if Professor Vogel's
reatment of the Transcendentalists leaves something
o be desired it is because of self-imposed limita-
ions which permit no interpretation or only the bar-
st and most obvious, as with Emerson's views of Goe-
he. In a footnote on the fourth last page of his
tudy Professor Vogel drops a hint that he is aware
f more than he actually performs: "Even more re-
ealing are his [Emerson's] numerous comments on the
ermans in his journals and letters." It is, there-
ore, a pity that Professor Vogel interpreted his
ask so strictly and narrowly as to exclude truly
reative analysis and commentary. Certainly the
resent Emersonian scholarship and interpretation,
especially that of Rusk, Cameron, Whicher, Paul,
and Miss Hopkins, has developed critical percep-
tions which in turn make increasingly exacting de-
mands even upon such a work as Professor Vogel has
attempted. In a variously uneven performance the
level of scholarly sophistication does not alter
significantly from this sort of thing: "That the
term Transcendentalism came from Kant one cannot de-
ny (p. 105). And why did not such a warm advocate
of Frederic Henry Hedge discover that Transcenden-
talist's poem, entitled Modern Poetry, delivered
before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard in
1828? Eleven years earlier, in a similar perform-
ance before the same society, John Ware had de-
plored the monstrous products of "prolifick Ger-
many," and Hedge in his turn was providing the
necessary antidote. Indeed, the Phi Beta Kappa
poem at Harvard offers well into the 1840's a re-
flection of the battle of taste which is so much a
part of Professor Vogel's story. It is not my in-
tention to particularize further the numerous de-
fects of style and treatment, for this volume re-
mains, nevertheless, the useful source of fact it
was intended to be.

CARL F. STRAUCH
Lehigh University

Treasury of Philosophy, edited by Dagobert D. Runes, New York (Philosophical Library, Inc.) 1955. Pp. 1280. $15.00

Mr. Runes, the author of more than fourteen other volumes and past editor of at least three scientific journals, has compiled an anthology of close to four hundred of what he feels to be the most important philosophers, arranged alphabetically from Abelard to Zeno. An effort was made, says the editor, to include American philosophers among the European. Moreover, a number of Oriental names appear, including Confucius, Lao-Tse, Shankara, and more of the Taoist, Confucian, Hindu, Buddhist, and other Oriental schools.

Beginning each selection is a brief review of the subject's life, his position in philosophy, and sometimes, though not always (as the fly-leaf implies), a listing of his major works. Too often the selections quoted are not identified. Following this are a few selections from the subject's works (sometimes only one), well chosen, especially when one considers the difficulty anyone would encounter in trying to condense for content and still give a glimmer of the author's style and attitude. For example, selections from The Greater Learning and The Doctrine of the Mean represent Confucius; for Emerson, excerpts from "Self Reliance;" and for Thoreau, selections from the "Higher Laws" in Walden.

For the beginner, the Treasury could hardly serve as a textbook. Some experience is presupposed, since there is no room in which to define terms, though they are not overly technical. For the advanced student, it would serve even less adequately as a text by reason of its brevity, only about four pages being assigned to each philosopher. Yet the purpose of Mr. Runes' book is real, and aptly suggested by a phrase on the fly-leaf— "A mammoth dictionary of important phil-

›sophers...." The purpose is to spot or identify, ı purpose having application for the areas in which ›ne has not read. But since a dictionary can be lefinitive and this volume cannot, the reader must ›e careful not to take some of the generalizations ›oo seriously. For placing a name in its proper ıge and philosophical position, however, Mr. Runes' Treasury of Philosophy is handy, accurate, and, therefore, useful.

F. EARLE FOX
Trinity College

Frederic Ives Carpenter, American Literature and the Dream, New York (Philosophical Library, Inc.), 1955. Pp. 220. $4.75.

This volume by a veteran scholar, teacher and critic calls for a reinterpretation of American literature in terms of the logic of the American Dream ——in terms of a great theme ever present in our literature, though sometimes implied rather than expressed. Without ignoring traditional values in the historical approach to letters in the United States ("The Colonial Period" etc.) or the technical approach ("Rise of Literary Realism") Dr. Carpenter both suggests and illustrates the rich possibilities of the national approach, which for the last decade has manifested itself in courses in American Civilization. Challenging and disturbing---in places even a little "maddening"---as good teaching must frequently be---it can put the reader in a "working mood," arouse in him a desire to stretch beyond his narrow specialty, and question some of his hard-earned postulates. Seven of the twenty-two chapters have appeared earlier in the N E Q, College English, American Literature and elsewhere, but there is much that is fresh and new, beginning with the Transcendentalists and extending through the Pragmatists into the world of O'Neill, Jeffers, Wolfe, Steinbeck, Saroyan and Hemingway. In fact, Dr. Carpenter's earlier studies gain in stature by finding their places in the chronological sequence. Though the chapter on Emerson is a rewriting of his "Introduction" to the volume in the American Writers Series, it shows no acquaintance with the rich explorations in the Emerson field during the past fifteen years and will probably be regarded by many as the weakest in the volume. Alcott has a chapter, but Thoreau, though frequently mentioned, has none. In a work emphasizing theme, however, these inclusions and exclusions need not be too significant, nor does the value of the work depend upon an even quality in the chapters. The book deserves attention, and it will, doubtless, receive it, sometimes in the form of violent disagreement, which to a challenging teacher ought to be construed as of more value than any faint praise.

K. W. C.

The Development of American Literary Criticism, by Harry H. Clark, Richard H. Fogle, Robert P. Falk, John H. Raleigh and C. Hugh Holman. Edited by Floyd Stovall. Chapel Hill (University of North Carolina Press), 1955. Pp. 262. $4.00

This volume of well-documented essays, a development of the program of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association in 1952, reflects the quality of that important agency. Though the need for such a detailed work has been recognized for at least a quarter of a century, the compilers indicate an awareness that additional chapters must be written before the history of American criticism can be complete, but they have provided a foundation and set a standard for what is to follow. Harry H. Clark's "Changing Attitudes in Early American Literary Criticism: 1800-1840" is an excellent, teachable exposition of the transitions from objectivism to subjectivism, from outward patterns to intuition and imagination, from moralism to beauty, from universal constants to changing history, and from mechanism to organicism. Richard H. Fogle's "Organic Form in American Criticism: 1840-1870" develops and richly illustrates its theme. Robert P. Falk's "The Literary Criticism of the Genteel Decades: 1870-1900" admirably reveals the critical postulates which made small room for Thoreau, Whitman and other "indigenous" writers. John H. Raleigh's "Revolt and Revaluation in Criticism: 1900-1930" provides an admirable sketch of a very wide subject, very close to us in time and, therefore, difficult to handle in a single brief chapter. C. Hugh Holman's "The Defense of Art: Criticism Since 1930" brings us, in an outline, into the world of the New Critics. The last two chapters will, understandably, have to be rewritten, and in much greater detail, as the century moves forward and retrospection can find firmer ground for its instruments. Floyd Stovall is thorough in his introduction, selected reading list, and index, all of which will prove useful.

K. W. C.

Frederick W. Conner, Cosmic Optimism: A Study of the Interpretation of Evolution by American Poets from Emerson to Robinson, Gainesville (University of Florida Press), 1949. Pp. 458. $6.00.

Professor Conner's well-planned book, one of the first significant studies to come from the University of Florida Press---an agency that has given us many in the past few years---is a foundation work not likely, for its scope at least, to be superseded in our generation. He faithfully studies the available printed works of Emerson, Poe, Whitman, Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, Taylor, Lanier, Holmes, Stedman, Hovey, Lodge, Moody, Robinson and others, together with the principal commentators on each. Then he classifies them, in a roughly chronological framework: the pattern before Darwin, question and compromise after Darwin, the end of the century ("The Genteel Tradition"), and, last of all, "The Twilight of Cosmic Optimism." He explores with careful documentation the interrelations between the philosophy of evolution and the nascent optimism of a new world, and their conjoined significance. His notes, bibliography and index are excellent.

The chapter on Emerson is competent, but can be greatly enriched and corrected by the early lectures (1833-1840) when published, by the unabridged journals (soon, we hope, to appear), and by even the 150 unpublished sermons, upon which this reviewer has been at work for several years. All these were probably difficult of access by

ofessor Conner while he carried on his extensive search. "Emerson and Science" is a subject well gh inexhaustible, and Dr. Conner must not be lamed for brevity of treatment in a work so large for a necessary selection of his facts. Still, would have found two published lists of Emerson's ading helpful to him in identifying some of the ails which R. W. E. chose as he moved toward and ong with Darwin. He might even have found help- l the 3 x 5 card-inventory of Emerson's personal brary---available both in Concord and Cambridge. s book, nonetheless, should be in every universi- or college collection for what it does provide-- good groundwork that can easily be enlarged and ilt upon.

K. W. C.

THE CORNERSTONE

AMS, RAYMOND, Intervals of Contemplation: 51st Annual Phi Beta Kappa Address, Alpha Chapter Of North Carolina, May 12, 1955, [Chapel Hill], 1955. (Another of Dr. Adams' stimulating addresses, with penetrating insight into Emerson and "The American Scholar.")

DERSON, JOHN Q., "Emerson and 'Manifest Destiny,'" Boston Public Library Quarterly, VII, 23-33 (Jan., 1955).

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ODERICK, JOHN C., "The Concord Club," Notes and Queries, n.s. II, no. 2 (Feb., 1955), p. 83. (In 1860, Emerson participated with Alcott, Thoreau and others in a weekly "Conversation.")

DERER, HANS, "Der Junge Emerson und Deutschland," Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift, XXXVI, 147-161 (April, 1955).

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"Emerson's Early Review of Shattuck's History," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 1 (IV Quarter, 1955), p. 2.

"Surviving Emerson Checks of the Late Period," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 1 (IV Quarter, 1955), pp. 9-10.

"The Rev. R. Waldo Emerson and Aunt Mary's Books," Emerson Society Quarterly, no. 1 (IV Quarter, 1955), pp. 6-7.

ERSON, RALPH WALDO, [Steward's Record in the Harvard University Archives covering Emerson's four undergraduate years.] Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 1 (IV Quarter, 1955), p. 5.

Mr Emerson Writes a Letter About Walden. Ed. with brief notes by Herbert Faulkner West. [Hanover, N.H.] (The Thoreau Society and the Friends of the Dartmouth Library), 1954. Pp. 24. Priceless. (This is one of the most attractive reproductions known to us and manifests the good taste and scholarly sense of both the Thoreau Society and the Friends of the Dartmouth Library, of which Dr. West is an official. Emerson's letter of March 20, 1854, to Richard Bentley, the English publisher, is an effort to secure for Walden an international audience. The letter apparently reached England on April 17, 1854. Applicants for membership in the Thoreau Society may still (while the supply lasts) secure a copy of this interesting "first edition" ---probably without charge. Send $1.00 for a year's enrolment to Prof. Walter Harding, 505 Cabell Hall, Charlottesville, Va.)

"Original Hymn" [Facsimile of the broadside distributed on July 4, 1837, when the Battleground monument was dedicated], Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 1 (IV Quarter, 1955), p. 2.

HAIG, ROBERT L., "Emerson and the 'Electric Word' of John Hunter," New England Quarterly, XXVIII, no. 3 (Sept., 1955), 394-397. (The phrase "arrested development" E. found in Robert Chambers' Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation in 1845. In 1868, he read an article on Hunter in the Biographie Générale containing the phrase, "l'arrêt de développement". "The 'electric word' passage in 'Poetry and the Imagination,' it appears, must be dismissed as evidence that Emerson had accepted evolution before 1859.")

HOLMAN, C. HUGH, "Hemingway and Emerson," Modern Fiction Studies [Purdue University], I, no. 3 (August, 1955), pp. 12-16. (Attempts to show "that there is an aesthetic continuity in American letters that is not rooted primarily in philosophical, religious, or political ideas." Despite Hemingway's utterances about Emerson's thought world, the men share much in technique and point of view.)

HUGGARD, WILLIAM A., "Emerson's Glimpse of the Divine," Personalist, XXXVI, 167-176 (Spring, 1955).

KINNE, E. W., "Hoosier Reactions to Emerson," Essex Institute Historical Collections, XCI, 1-8 (Jan., 1955). (Emerson was received with respect, if not with warm affection, during his four lecture engagements in Indiana.)

LIZASO, FÉLIX, "Emerson visto por Martí," Humanismo (México), III, 31-38 (Sept., 1954). (On the Cuban's great admiration for Emerson and on points of contact between the two.)

McMULLEN, HAYNES, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and Libraries," Library Quarterly, XXV, 152-162 (April, 1955. (Interesting and useful, but sadly defective. He knows nothing about Emerson's important use of the Boston Library Society, the reading list of which was published in Emerson the Essayist in 1945!!!)

NAYLOR, LOUIS HASTINGS, "Emerson and an Italian Carriage Driver in 1833," Emerson Society Quarterly, No. 1 (IV Quarter, 1955), pp. 3-4.

RUCHAMES, LOUIS, "Emerson's Second West India Emancipation Address," New England Quarterly, XXVIII, no. 3 (Sept., 1955), 383-388. (Delivered Aug. 1, 1845, at Waltham, and reported in Garrison's Liberator and Greeley's New York Tribune.)

ILLER, ANDREW, "Gnomic Structure in Emerson's Poetry," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, XL, 313-320 (1955). (This important monograph deserves a larger circulation than will be permitted by the specialized periodical in which it appears. Perhaps Dr. Schiller and others will hereafter think of the Emerson Society and plan, with the cooperation we should be glad to give, to have a sufficient number of offprints prepared for circulation among our members.

"[T]he comparatively small body of [Emerson's] successful poems [has], in general, this characteristic in common, that a gnome, or a group of gnomes, is the centerpiece, or core, to which the rest of the poem stands in the relation of development, demonstration, and continuum." Another quotation appears on page 6 above. Mr. Schiller gives an excellent analysis of "The Sphinx." His address: University of Illinois, Navy Pier, Chicago 11. (He is one of our members.)

JGGS, HENRY L., "Emerson and Ben Jonson" [Paper read at the 25th Annual Meeting of the South Atlantic Modern Language Association, Daytona Beach, Florida, Nov. 25, 1955.]

RAUCH, CARL FERDINAND, "Emerson as a Creator of Vignettes," Modern Language Notes, LXX, 274-278 (April, 1955). (A demonstration of the stages through which Emerson's "April" passed, from a rhapsodical passage of prose in one of his letters, to the finished poem.)

"The Sources of Emerson's 'Song of Nature'", Harvard Library Bulletin, IX, no. 3 (Autumn, 1955), pp. 300-334. (The first of two promised papers on one of Emerson's most significant poems, revealing the rich intellectual life which Emerson compressed into his most memorable utterance. No adequate criticism of his poetry can be made without a full appreciation of such a painstaking examination of it as Dr. Strauch has given.)

"The Year of Emerson's Poetic Maturity: 1834," Philological Quarterly, XXXIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), pp. 353-377. (One of the most important articles on Emerson's poetry to appear in the last half century---an eye-opener for those unaware of the beauty and significance in the verse of a genuine craftsman. Dr. Strauch removes smoked glasses and lets us read, perhaps for the first time, "The Rhodora," "Xenophanes," "Each and All," and "The Snow-Storm.")

PER, R. H., "Emerson and Arnold's Poetry," Philological Quarterly, XXXIII, 396-403 (Oct., 1954). (Though no Transcendentalist, Matthew Arnold felt the impact of some of Emerson's ideas and poetic techniques.)

RWILLIGER, ERNEST W., The Individual and Emerson's Concept of Equality [Dissertation completed at Cornell, 1954.]

ITAKER, THOMAS R., "The Riddle of Emerson's 'Sphinx,'" American Literature, XXVII, 179-195 (May, 1955). (An attempt to explain what the poem says.)

PLEASE SEND US OFFPRINTS FOR LISTING AND REVIEW!!!

S. T. Williams

DIED FEBRUARY 4, 1956

BELOVED YALE PROFESSOR AND AUTHOR. WISE COUNSELLOR, TEACHER AND FRIEND TO PRODUCTIVE SCHOLARS IN THE FIELD OF AMERICAN LETTERS. ADVISER AND CHARTER MEMBER OF THIS SOCIETY.

"Amicum perdere est damnorum maximum."

News and Ideas

At the time of his death, Stanley Williams was preparing an article for us on Emerson's stay in Sicily. He had visited the street where R.W.E. had lodged.

Jack Neiburg, specialist in literary and historical Americana, 633 Massachusetts Ave., Boston 18, offers for sale an interesting broadside issued by Mary Baker Eddy in answer to an article written in one of the popular magazines of the day, claiming that Emerson was the author of Science and Health. The broadside is headed as follows: "Concord, N. H. June 7, 1903. Recent claims that Ralph Waldo Emerson is the author of Christian Science has called forth the following statement from Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy. To Whom It Concerns." (We understand that the item pays great tribute to Emerson. It appeared with revisions in the Christian Science Monitor.)

Harvard University Press has announced plans for the publication of a new edition of the JOURNALS OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. The work will be edited by Professors William H. Gilman of the University of Rochester, Alfred R. Ferguson of Ohio Wesleyan University, George P. Clark of Northern Illinois State Teachers College, and Merell R. Davis of the University of Washington. The manuscripts of the 160 journals now in the Houghton Library will be used as the basis for the new text. None of these has ever been published in full, and most of the texts have never been published. No date is set for the publication, but editorial work has already begun and will be carried on for several years. The work will need subsidization and cooperation from scholars and foundations. The editors aim to give a complete text, rendered "according to the techniques of modern scholarship."

The ANNUAL MEETING OF THE THOREAU SOCIETY will be held on Saturday, July 14, at the First Parish Church in Concord. Prof. Kenneth A. Robinson of Dartmouth will speak on "Thoreau and the Wild Appetite" and Prof. Herbert West will deliver the presidential address on "Thoreau and the Younger Generation." Further details will be announced later. Members of the EMERSON SOCIETY are cordially invited to attend this meeting of the parent group

aring a placard, EMERSON SOCIETY. Please introce yourself.

We hear that J. M. Dent has just reissued Emerson's says (1st and 2nd Series) with a new introduction Sherman Paul of the University of Illinois. We ve tried to secure a copy for review, but it apently has not yet become available in the American rket.

The letterhead of Lewis T. Dodds Real Estate, 310 ens Parkway, Northfield, Illinois, has at the botm in red type: "Goodness is the only investment at never fails"--Thoreau.

We would like to compile a list of Private Collecrs of Emersoniana. May we hear from you?

Ray C. Smith of South Sudbury, Massachusetts, has ndly donated a large packet of stickers to the Soety, printed attractively as follows:

THE EMERSON SOCIETY
P. O. Box 1080
Hartford 1, Connecticut

you have need of stickers in your work, please rite him for excellent service.

Warren H. Colson, prominent collector of Proctorsille, Vermont, writes: "The THOREAU SOCIETY has a ife Membership for $25.00 and though I am now seven-y-three, I should be very glad if you set up a simiar class of membership, not only for the purpose of elping the organization along, but also to save the rouble of annual remittances, and I shall do my best, you set up such a class of membership, to live so ong that I shall make a profit!!" Let us have your pinions.

We have read with interest, and are depositing in the ociety's Memorabilia Collection in Concord, a copy Frederick E. Schortemeier's address before the ndianapolis Mercator Club on May 19, 1953: Go Thou lone: Not the Mass---The Individual. [Sesquicenennial of R. W. E.]

Miss Ellen Winsor of 658 Brooke Road, Wayne, Pa., rites: "Emerson married my Grandmother & Grandather, so I am a kind of spiritual descendant of is! I owe everything to Emerson's Self-Reliance. olitics etc. opened my eyes to the life beautiful."

Prof. Morse S. Allen of Trinity College, commenting on our first number, wrote: "Emerson's 'Dear! ear!' at hearing of WW's use of his letter is characteristic of the feet of clay--more justly, perhaps, of wood--which were unable to move to carry out the grand dicta of his chryselaphantine head ar above them toward the clouds. Thoreau's lower tature permitted better rapport between thought and ction. To me the most interesting and thought-provoking inclusion in 'Number One' is the thin, imorous, young man Sutton's selenic reflections of is sun at perihelion. Emerson's sensation of S's inship with Thoreau is evidence of the sensitivity f E's seismograph for the quality of the temblors f one who 'never had any faculty or fondness for leeping out of doors at nights' and who seems to me o have had many of the qualities of Beerbohm's Enoch oames. Emerson really should be freely forgiven for njoying, smilingly, the warm admiration of such rare-actional disciples, after the abundantly rude winds f 'Bulkeley, Hunt, Willard,' et al. of New England ardscrabbles and Middle Western prairies."

Prof. Carl F. Strauch is working on three unpublished Emerson poems: "S. R." (Emerson's rejection of Sampson Reed); "The Skeptic" (Emerson's mood of illusion, reflecting somewhat the influence of Montaigne); and "New England Capitalist" (Emerson's evaluation of material progress). These lyrics will ultimately appear in the forthcoming edition of Emerson's Collected Poems, upon which Dr. S. has been at work for many years, under the protection and with the cooperation of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association.

Prof. J. Almus Russell, of State Teachers College, Bloomsburg, Pa., writes that he has a "dozen or so of Emerson's letters which extend over a period of thirty or more years; also a letter written by his daughter Ellen after her father's death." They do not appear in Rusk.

"I long ago lost a hound, a bay horse, and a turtle dove...." Recalling his own lost youth, member Stephen Tudor, of Tacoma, Washington, contributes the following original lyric:

TO MNEMOSYNE

The season of this haunt
Still clings to me. I can
Not cast its spell away.

Here constant winds from blue
Encircling hills low dry
And cool on sloping fields.

Wind bellies out the sky,
Unresting, a low wind
On high land. Clouds are shred.

The fertile soil is tilled
By silent men I see
But seldom from the road.

Here travelers uneasily go,
But even as they flee,
Disquiet, here do they dwell.

--STEPHEN TUDOR.

The remark about the mousetrap, commonly attributed to Emerson, is supposed to have been first printed in the following: Borrowings. Compiled by Ladies of the First Unitarian Church of Oakland, California, San Francisco, 1889.

It is a legend at the Library of the Boston Athenaeum that Emerson introduced Joachin Miller to that institution, and then left the guest while he [Emerson] read a book. There is no evidence to support the belief in the register of guests. Can anyone elaborate on Emerson's contacts with Miller?

John L. Cooley, Esq., an editor of Banking, 12 East 36th Street, New York 16, has been very helpful to Thoreauvian and Emersonian scholars during the past decade. Among his present holdings are the following:

ELIZABETH HOAR COLLECTION

A green octavo folder containing numerous blank leaves. Interspersed are many fragments and letters--one or two from Margaret Fuller. Some may be scraps by Mary Moody Emerson. There is also a

gnature of Ezra Ripley.

"prize" seems to be a MS. of the poem, "The Last ewell," with all verses present. (Some were tted from The Dial because they were so personal.) ofessor Rusk says the MS. is undoubtedly in the ndwriting of Edward Bliss Emerson. At the bottom an endorsement in the hand of R.W.E.: "Oct. 32."

composition book in which Elizabeth copied out ems---by Mrs. Hemans and others---and in between ch pair of pages are pressed flowers---buttercups, llow primroses, violets, and others. One likes think that she and Charles laid them there.

Scholars have often lamented the fact that the le of the Yeoman's Gazette in Concord lacks the ght issues of September and October, 1835. Three them are in other insitutions:

Sept. 5, 1835 Massachusetts Historical Society
Oct. 3, 1835 American Antiquarian Society
Oct. 31, 1835 Massachusetts Historical Society

Wrote Thomas Wentworth Higginson in an article, merson as a Reformer," summarized in the Boston anscript, May 25, 1903: "He [Emerson] never cognized the leadership of Jesus Christ as that of absolutely infallible guide; yet to show that he arded against exaggeration on this ground also, we ve the remarkable passage, preserved by Miss E. P. abody from the original manuscript of his Divinity ll address, a passage left out for want of time ly, and warning his hearers against making truth fanaticism: 'Too soon we shall have the puppyism a pretension of looking down on the head of all man culture; setting up against Jesus Christ ery little self----magnified.'"

Your editor had the privilege of making the acaintance of Walter E. Piper of the Division of rkets, Massachusetts Department of Agriculture, the annual meeting of the Thoreau Society last ly. Like Johnny Appleseed, of whom he is fond, carries apples of literature and tradition into ery task he enters, and the sheaf of delightful mmaries of his talks, radio broadcasts, and news leases makes one realize that he is one of the st educators in the Society. He relates Massausetts and other farming communities to people d masterpieces of poetry and prose, so that Peter lls are awakened from their lethargy and find imroses to be more than primroses. A few of the tles of his recent releases deserve mention. If y of them interest you, write him in care of the partment of Agriculture, 41 Tremont Street, Bosn 8, and make his acquaintance. Then look for m next summer at the annual meeting of the Thoreau ciety, for he never fails to support the causes ich interest us.

"What Johnny Appleseed Means to Us"
"Isaac Johnson--an Overlooked Bostonian"
"To 'Ye Who Love a Nation's Legends--'"
"Camellias to Currier and Ives"
"The Christmas Flower" [Poinsettia]
"A Golden Anniversary for Violets"
"Josiah Quincy--The Great Josiah"
"Poor Richard Says----"
"Emerson's 150th"
"Ice for Massachusetts Vegetables" [Walden Pond]
"A Salute to Henry David Thoreau"
"William Blackstone--Pioneer Orchardist"
"On Gilded Vanes--Fantasy Regarding the Man in the Harvest Moon"
"Maxima, Pepo and Moschata---Farm Wagon Nostalgia"
"Thanksgiving-Time Observances"
"The Pilgrim Progress" [Forefathers' Day]
"Thoreau's Map of Walden Pond"

[Don't forget to include postage and a "Thank-you!"]

EMERSON IN THE LYCEUM RECORDS OF LITTLETON, MASSACHUSETTS

By the Editor

The following information is taken from a volume entitled, Littleton Lyceum Records (1829--) kept in the Littleton Historical Society, now housed in the Littleton Public Library:

1854, Dec. 19 Lecture by R.W.E. Subject: "Characteristics of the English"

1857, Jan. 12 Lecture by R.W.E. "Walking"

1870, Feb. 1 Lecture by R.W.E. "Fear and Courage" [His fee was $20.00.]

1878, Jan. 29 Lecture by A. Bronson Alcott: "Among the Authors"

1879, Dec. 23 [Fiftieth anniversary of the Littleton Lyceum. R.W.E. was invited but replied as follows:]

Concord, Dec. 20th, 1879.

[To the Hon.
Joseph A. Harwood]

Dear Sir,

Mr. Emerson desires to thank you and the rest of the Committee for your polite invitation to the semi-centennial celebration of your Littleton Lyceum, which he would enjoy if he were able to be present, but he can only send his regrets.

Respectfully,

Ellen [T.] Emerson*

* See Semi-Centennial Proceedings on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the Littleton Lyceum; [1829-1879]....Boston, [1879], p. 24.

1882, Mar. 7 Lecture by Frank B. Sanborn of Concord: "Thoreau & Webster"

FOR SALE

FIVE COPIES OF A LONG-OUT-OF-PRINT VOLUME

Nature (1836) By Ralph Waldo Emerson

Edited with an introduction, Index-Concordance, and Bibliographical Appendices by Kenneth Walter Cameron, New York (Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints), 1940. $5.50 Postpaid to first applicants. THE THISTLE PRESS, Hartford 1.